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East Europe

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EAST EUROPE

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PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES ON TIES WITH EMIGRES

AU011807 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 May 87 p 2

[CTK report: "Deputies of the Federal Assembly in Session"]

[Excerpts] Prague (CTK)--Deputies of the foreign affairs committees of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations of the CSSR Federal Assembly met at a joint session in Prague on Wednesday [20 May].

Roman Narozny, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, briefed the deputies on cooperation of the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute (CSUZ) and the Slovak Foundation [Matica Slovenska] with associations of fellow countrymen. The report mentioned inter alia that more than 3 million people who claim Czech or Slovak origin live abroad at present. The CSUZ cooperates with 63 organizations, ensembles, editorial staffs, schools, and travel agencies of fellow countrymen associating some 100,000 people in 14 countries.

Some 140,000 postwar emigres--that is, fewer than 5 percent of the total number of fellow countrymen--live abroad. A segment of them is associated in various political organizations and associations that speak out against the CSSR and stand in the lead of subversive ideological operations. However, these organizations definitely do not express the political attitudes of all emigres. Most of them are not involved in these organizations and some of them are normalizing [upravuji] their legal relationship toward the CSSR.

Deputy Ludek Kzpitola asked the deputy minister of foreign affairs to what extent the data on the number of fellow countrymen correspond to reality and how Czechoslovak representative missions abroad cooperate with them. "Our data are based on the official statistics on ethnic minorities published in various countries," Roman Narozny replied and added that the Czechoslovak Embassies in the United States and Canada, for example, have special officers responsible for contact with fellow countrymen.

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CSO: 2400/319

HOFFMANN SAYS 'RESTRUCTURING INEVITABLE'

AU050750 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 May 87 p 5

[CTK report on speech by Karel Hoffmann, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, delivered in Prague on 19 May at an aktiv of party officials of the transportation, communications, trade, construction, and health sectors, of the agencies of people's control and the social security sphere: "New Impetuses for Further Activity"]

[Text] In the opening part of his speech, Comrade Karel Hoffmann said:

Today's deliberations, too, have again showed how the standard of these sectors' work is in many respects still far removed from the demands of the 17th CPCZ Congress, how many errors, shortcomings, and abuses there still are, and how slowly and inefficiently we are still grappling with them. At the same time, we are not even seriously and responsibly addressing them. With some justification it was said that the elimination of many shortcomings is not in the power of collectives and ministerial departments [rezorty], because they have been caused by gaps in the plan, the fault of suppliers, the low quality of technology, and so forth, and thus must be resolved on a different level.

At the same time, however, it quite clearly showed, Karel Hoffmann said, that we are not using anywhere near our potential and untapped resources, that we remain indifferent to many shortcomings whose elimination is in our power, that the political-organizational work is superficial, and the discussion of issues frequently only formalistic. Many officials and party agencies are not devoting themselves with full seriousness to recommendations submitted by members of their collectives or the other working people. And the implementation of the right to control by party organizations, the carrying out of industrial cadre policy, the calling of the ranking personnel-party members to account, the drawing of party consequences for nonfulfillment, and in particular for long-term nonfulfillment of party tasks or the resolutions of party agencies is often not at all being realized in practice. We must put a resolute end to such a state of affairs.

We discussed here what the restructuring of the economic mechanism and of the entire society's life will yield and change. Yes, restructuring is inevitable. The transition to an intensive development and to the application of science and technology is impossible without it: we cannot ensure the further marked upswing of socialism without it.

It is increasingly obvious that the overwhelming majority of the Czechoslovak working people welcomes the process of restructuring in the USSR and calls for the acceleration of an identical process also in the CSSR, because they are convinced of its correctness and urgency. They rightly expect that the restructuring will bring order into management and supplier-user relations, into material-technical supply, that it will lead to a broader implementation of socialist principles of remuneration according to work done, and that the managing agencies and officials of all levels will not only talk about the deepening of socialist democracy, but will at last take into consideration the experience, views, and recommendations of the working people the way the 17th CPCZ Congress demands and the fifth CPCZ Committee session urgently called for.

However, there are many people, Comrade Hoffmann stressed, who call for restructuring, incessantly talk about it, and demand a lot from others, but are not that demanding toward themselves and forget that great demands are also being put on them. First of all, all ranking personnel must begin restructuring with themselves. If we are going to demand better work only from others and will not act as an example ourselves, if we are not going to keep on perfecting our own work, we will not accomplish any real restructuring of society or upswing of socialism.

In this connection I would like to stress that there is no contradiction between the line of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the process of restructuring. And not only that, a consistent restructuring is the fundamental prerequisite for the realization of the congress line.

It is necessary with the greatest resoluteness to also reject the fairly widespread notions that it is actually enough to wait for the realization of the restructuring of the economic mechanism and everything will automatically be in order. This is a dangerous and harmful tendency. Above all, because even now we have the duty, without delay and without waiting for something, to change our attitude toward the fulfillment of tasks and of the plan in harmony with the demands of the 17th CPCZ Congress, in harmony with the fifth CPCZ Central Committee session. Second--what is involved is not only the restructuring of the economic mechanism but, above all, the restructuring of all work, the change in the attitudes and thinking of every one of us. In this respect we do not have to wait for anything. Therefore, the party categorically demands that we all begin this process immediately and everywhere.

And third--not even the most perfect economic mechanism, no matter whether it goes into effect in one year's time or in three years, cannot bring about changes automatically. We will not achieve the desired turn without intensive work and without struggle for the assertion of the new mechanism. And there is certainly no need to particularly stress that we all have to join this struggle, beginning with work collectives and ending with the management of enterprises and ministries, and the governments.

When we show the corresponding determination, emphasis, and consistence, we will certainly be successful. Almost 300,000 communists are working in the branches of our sector, which totals about 2 million working people. When we take into consideration the tens of thousands of qualified management personnel and at least 600,000 dedicated trade union, youth union, and other officials, it is obvious what an immense--but to date undoubtedly only partially used--potential we have at our disposal.

The working people and the majority of other citizens are in touch with the results of our work practically all the time. Its standard is reflected in their condition, in their mood, and thus also in their work performance. It is, above all, the shortcomings in the work of the transportation sector, of communications, trade, health services, and the construction sector that make their life bitter. Even we ourselves frequently react to them with irritation. At the same time, however, unfortunately we ridicule shortcomings and abuses committed by others, and take little notice of our own, and we only inadequately consider our own work.

Under the avalanche of work, especially when we are not able to organize it well, and when the last minute rush [sturmovani] sets in and we are making up for the shortfall in the plan, it seems as if we forget that we are serving the people, real people, and that any of our failures, mistakes, misconduct, or poor quality work makes a bad impression on many citizens, and can spoil their mood, complicate their lives, and can even cause an accident and thus even injury or death. This applies to workers in the fields of transportation, communications, health, sales, and construction.

Transportation—every day and in many ways—not only influences the functioning of the other branches that depend on the supply and removal of raw and other materials and semifinished and finished products worth an average of 2 million metric tons daily. The disruption of a smooth supply to enterprises causes interruptions in production, which have negative consequences for the working people. Transportation also ensures the conveyance of the overwhelming majority of citizens (16 million daily) travelling to work and schools, as well as to places of entertainment, places where they engage in sports activities, where they recuperate, and such like. Their state of mind depends on quality and punctual transportation, cleanliness, and overall comfort of travel not only during the time they travel but, consequently, also at work, in their private lives, in contact with other people. We must keep this in mind at all times, and not leave uncriticized a single error, a single phenomenon of indiscipline and slovenliness.

Communications, whose role in the intensification of the national economy and whose importance for the growth of labor productivity, for the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, for rapid information and exchange of experience continues to grow, ensures to the overwhelming majority of citizens various communications with the world. These means include radio and television, periodicals (9 million copies daily), telephone calls (16 million daily), telegrams, letters (6 million daily), and other postal services. Any breakdown in the communications activity, such as poor quality and specific shortage of services in demand, for example household telephones, elicits considerable dissatisfaction among citizens.

The construction sector ensures the production and operational base for practically all branches with a few small exceptions, for example, when citizens are in the care of the transportation sector; the construction sector provides them with an around-the-clock roof over their heads--8 hours at the worksite, 10 and more hours in their apartments, and additional hours in cultural, social, and health facilities, and from our own experience or from the experience of our fellow-citizens we know how poor quality construction work can for years make life bitter at home, on the worksite, and elsewhere.

Trade is to satisfy the needs and the interests of all citizens, and thus the staff of trade organizations day after day influence their state of mind, their work performance, and the amount of time lost not so much by shopping itself, but by constantly chasing after a certain type of goods, or by standing in lines. And when we add to it the unwillingness or even arrogance on the part of many salesmen, and fairly often the cheating of customers instead of good service, an explanation, and even smile, then we cannot be surprised that so many customers are permanently embittered.

From what I said, Karel Hoffmann stressed, it is obvious that we must not even for a moment forget that hundreds of thousands of workers of the transportation, communications, and trade sector daily and directly affect citizens not only by the standard of their services, but also by their behavior, which is an integral part of this service.

The health care sector--by its extent, effectiveness, and the best possible active care for the health of citizens from birth throughout their lives--should be the most convincing example of the advantages of socialism, the proof of the fact that that man, his health and his well-being count more than anything else for us. Unfortunately, this is not the case everywhere, and therefore we come across a great number of citizens' justified critical recommendations.

The workers active in the sphere of social policy are very important too. Whether citizens are satisfied or whether they have the feeling of being wronged depends on the standard of the work of those who work in the health sector, even though the majority of these people are not in daily contact with citizens. This work includes preparing proposals to solve urgent social issues, and accurately and consistently implementing the social policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state. At the same time, I must note that the number of letters and personal complaints is growing. It is obvious from them that the valid statewide social measures are not supplemented by partial social measures for the benefit of some young families and older people wherever and whenever possible. These measures are in the power and capacity of national committees, enterprise committees of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, or enterprise managements.

There is no doubt that the satisfaction of the working people and the rest of the citizens, children, young and old people, is, to a considerable degree, contingent upon the standard of our branches' work and precisely in this sphere of ours there are more than enough shortcomings. Most of them are unnecessary, and would not exist if we were fulfilling our duties honestly, consistently, and with initiative. Everyone has the duty to start with himself, at his worksite, in his collective. And who else is to be at the head if not communists, party organizations, and, in particular, their committees.

Karel Hoffmann, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, further critically addressed the issues of scientific-technical development, of the quality of work, as well as of socialist competition, where frequently even a large contingent of workers does not have enough effect and points to phenomena of formalism in this sphere.

At the end of his speech, Karel Hoffmann said that we should leave this aktiv aware that each enterprise committee, each committee of the party's primary organization has the urgent task even more actively, more effectively to contribute to the fulfillment of the line of the 17th Congress, to contribute to the realization of the resolution of the fifth CPCZ Central Committee session, and that they must again quite specifically devote themselves to the main problems of party work, to the plan fulfillment within the range of their activity, to the causes of shortcomings and problems to determining what has to be done to eliminate their causes, and to see to it that the tasks--that is, also the tasks of the 1987 plan--are fulfilled.

/8309

CSO: 2400/319

BRIBERY, INEFFICIENCY OF FOREIGN TRADE CRITICIZED

AU021408 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 May 87 p 4

[Unattributed article on the discussion at the third meeting of the CSSR Federal Assembly's Chamber of Nations in Prague on 19 May: "Reducing Material- and Energy-Intensiveness"]

[Excerpt] Cadres Should Be More Carefully Selected

Lieutenant General Anton Murzic:

It is necessary for us to trade better than private persons, but thus far this has not been the case in some instances: A former director of the Kovo foreign trade enterprise trading group used to give preferential treatment to foreign suppliers and middlemen regarding prices and payment conditions. In this way he caused damage to the Czechoslovak national economy totaling roughly Kcs21 million. He took a minimum of Kcs42,000 in bribes from foreign companies. Beside that, he made it possible for his subordinate to carry out unauthorized activity abroad for the benefit of several foreign companies, and thus helped him to make a profit of at least Kcs1 million.

Without the consent of the State Planning Commission, a director of the Petrimex foreign trade enterprises trading group concluded a contract for the export of 7,678 tonnes of sulfur to the FRG and Austria, despite the fact that this was a rationed item [bilancovana polozka]. As a result, sulfur had to be reimported from the FRG and Austria for 67 million foreign currency [devizove] korunas, so that production would not have to be halted.

There are many similar cases. I propose that the Federal Minister of Foreign Trade investigate cadre work in the sector and in the foreign trade enterprises, putting emphasis on the selection, training, and control of their activity and on the effectiveness of their undertakings.

/8309

CSO: 2400/319

BRIEFS

CHECK ON BORDER CROSSING--(IVA)--The first border crossing to be checked within the project of simplifying customs formalities and passport controls was in Berg, located on the border with Austria. Bratislava Deputy Mayor Engineer Magdalena Lorencova, together with Engineer Juraj Kulisiak, director of Slovakia's Customs Directorate; Doctor Emanuel Rehak, head of the trade and tourism section of the Bratislava National Committee; and Andrej Slovak, deputy director for trade of the restaurants and eating places enterprise, checked on the general technical facilities, including communications facilities; the standards of customs procedures and currency exchange; services in restaurant facilities; and the provision of basic information about the CSSR and Slovakia. They found that in order to expand tourism, the first and foremost task is to simplify customs and passport formalities, both for entering and exiting the CSSR, and to make these procedures quicker and smoother. The customs offices at Bratislava airport, in Rusovce, and in Cuno'v will be checked in this regard in the next few days. [Summary] [Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak 7 May 87 p 1 AU] /9599

DISARMAMENT RESEARCH CENTER--Prague (CTK)--The expanded session of the Commission for Researching Issues of Peace and Disarmament attached to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, was held in Prague on 7 May. Zdenek Snitil, the commission's chairman and vice chairman of the academy, stated that the present methods, forms, and approaches to the problems dealt with by the commission must be reassessed so as to flexibly react to the need for new political thinking in the current nuclear age. An important step in this will be the establishment of a research center for the issues of peace and disarmament as an independent work body within the Academy of Sciences. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 May 87 p 2 AU] /9599

TASS OFFICIAL ON MEDIA--Prague (CTK)--Sergey Losev, TASS director general, spoke to Czechoslovak and Soviet journalists in Prague on the part played by Soviet communications media in restructuring and in the strategy of accelerating and further developing democracy in the USSR. After pointing out the importance of the flow of information to the public and of frank party policy, S. Losev answered the journalists' questions. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 May 87 p 2 AU] /9599

TRADE TALKS WITH INDIA--Heading an Indian delegation to the 12th session of the Czechoslovak-Indian Committee for Economic, Trade, and Technical

Cooperation, Indian Commerce Minister Shiv Shanker arrived in Prague on 20 May. He was received in the afternoon by CSSR Minister of Foreign Trade Bohumil Urban, who is heading the Czechoslovak delegation at the session, and the two ministers began talks on issues connected with the further expansion of trade and economic relations between their two countries, with emphasis on cooperation in the construction of complete investment units and on the expansion of the range of products to be exchanged. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 May 87 p 2 AU] /9599

AUSTRIAN CREDITS--According to Hannes Androsch, general director of Austria's Creditanstalt Bank, which opened a branch in Prague recently, the Creditanstalt Bank has the "mandate" of granting the CSSR credit on very favorable terms to the tune of \$200 million to fund the construction of hotels, hydroelectric power plants, and the modernization of industry. [Summary] [Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 22 May 87 p 1 AU] /9599

ANGOLAN TRADE UNIONISTS--In Neratovice on 26 May Viliam Kozik, secretary of the Central Trade Union Council [URO], had talks with a 22-member group of officials of the National Union of Angolan Working People [UNTO], who are attending a 5-month course sponsored by the URO in cooperation with the Antonin Zapotocky Central School of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. Viliam Kozik discussed with the Angolan trade unionists the course and the conclusions of the 11th All-Trade Union Congress and their gradual realization. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 May 87 p 2 AU] /9599

ALLOCATION OF FORINTS--The Federal Ministry of Finance and the Czechoslovak State Bank announced that it is still possible to travel privately of Hungary twice a year at most, with the maximum allocation of forints, converted into korunas, being Kcs350 per person per trip. Citizens who did not go to Hungary in the 1986-87 period can buy, effective 15 June, forints worth a maximum of Kcs2,000 per person for one longer trip during the summer holiday period. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 May 87 p 2 AU] /9599

CSO: 2400/309

BRIEFS

SOCIALIST OWNERSHIP CONCEPT CONFERENCE—Yesterday within the framework of cooperation between the Novisad University's Subotica Faculty and the Karl Marx University of Economics, a conference was convened in Subotica with the participation of a Hungarian delegation about the theoretical and practical problems of socialist ownership. The speakers--Ivan Maximovics, academician from Belgrade, Rodman Bozsovcics, university professor at Subotica and Kalman Szabo--all emphasized the great importance for socioeconomic reform to rethink the concept of societal ownership and the strengthening the role of people's real ownership. Their opinions concur in that to remedy the difficulties of development and technological progress being experienced by the socialist countries, it is indispensable that the system of socialist ownership be transformed [atalakitasa]. Indispensable is the formulation of a varigated, flexible concept which builds on active market conditions and also on the interests of the workers. After the speeches were delivered, the conference continued with debate sessions. The conference will finish up its work today. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 May 87 p 5] /6662

CSO: 2500/407

EMINESCU'S VIEWS ON AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN RULE IN TRANSYLVANIA DISCUSSED

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian No 18, 1 May 87 p 10

[Article by Mircea T. Radu]

[Text] Many Eminescu articles evidence the poet's constant concern for the cause of Transylvanian Romanians. By his vehement attacks launched against Austro-Hungarian despotism, by his appeals to Romanians in Transylvania to resist foreign oppression, by the faith injected into his brothers beyond the mountains that liberation depends on their own struggle, Eminescu appears to us, in his journalistic work, as a vigorous champion for the ideal of national unity, a continuator of Avram Iancu's fight and precursor of Octavian Goga.

We point out the titles of some very significant articles: "Strength Is in Unity" and "Balance," published when the poet was 20 years old, and "Austro-Hungary and Nationalities," when he was 30 years old. In them we find a plea for the complete overthrow of the Austro-Hungarian dualism--a form of imperialism--founded in 1867 and which, actually, instituted the political supremacy of Hungarians in Transylvania. The dualism is portrayed by the poet as an arbitrary statal structure, through which other peoples are oppressed.

In these articles there is the intertwining of the intellectual force of Eminescu's argumentation, the loftiness of his humanitarian ideas, with the ebullience of his patriotic feeling. The poet directs a virulent attack against the ruling Hungarian coterie in Transylvania. Criticized are the Hungarian magnates "whose vanity," the poet says, "caused them to believe that in this country...they will be able to magyarize even the rocks." The arrogance of these magnates is boundless; they are "oppressors of Transylvania's autonomy;" there can be no dialogue with them.

"You tell him that the Romanian nation wants such and such a thing, he replies that the Romanian nation does not even exist. How can one communicate with such a man!" (Works, Vol IX, pp 94, 97)

Protesting against national discriminations, the multiple ways of oppression, including tortures like in the Middle Ages, the poet argues that the parliament of Hungary is not an expression of the people of Transylvania. He points out that in accordance with the spirit of our time, "the laws of a people, their rights can emanate only from themselves. Another element, an alien one, that

is essentially different from theirs, cannot impose anything on them...." Moreover, "legislation must be the application of the most advanced idea of law, related to the requirements of the people" (IX, pp 93-95).

We must emphasize some genuinely revolutionary political ideas, expressed by young Eminescu at 20. Eminescu encourages Transylvanian Romanians to fight against the policy of national oppression waged by Austro-Hungarian authorities. The manner in which he conceives the fight is also significant. We quote excerpts:

"What greater rights can the Hungarians have in this country...?" "Historically, they came far later than we" (IX, p 92). On the other hand, "it is known that statistics are not in Hungarians' favor." "The dominant element is in minority" (XI, p 126).

Eminescu asserts the need for our cooperation with the other discontented nations of the Austro-Hungarian empire. "Let us hasten to declare our solidarity with the discontented nations of Austria; let us proceed to a joint activity with them.... Our strength and salvation resides in us!" (IX, p 92).

The last sentence, underlined in the text, highlights the originality of Eminescu's thinking, the discrepancy between Eminescu's historical and political thought and the philosophy of Schopenhauer or Hegel.

The poet goes on: "All nations must be brought to their own value...." "All peoples are thirsting for individual life, and only equal rights for all will generate balance" (IX, p 97).

The forcing of the Romanian people in Transylvania to adopt a foreign language was the most powerful means of denationalization attempted by the Hungarian rulers, and Eminescu protested against it most vehemently. He condemned equally vigorously the attempts which the Phanariots had made to introduce the Greek language in the Principalities).

Explaining the great importance of language for spiritual development, Eminescu urged Transylvanian Romanians to defend their maternal, ancestral tongue, because loss of their own language would entail not only the destruction of their nationality, but also the limitation of the minds and spiritual forces of a people. "The human mind cannot develop in freedom without a language, and notably without the one learned from the onset, with all its wealth of nuances...." "Actually, every enduring and healthy thing is possible only on the basis of a well-grounded nationality and language" (XI, p 124; XIII, p 112; and so forth).

In several articles Eminescu describes and brands the aberrant attempts at denationalizing the Romanian people in Transylvania stepped up by the Hungarian rulers during the dualist regime. He condemns the history books that propagated Roeslers unscientific doctrine on the Romanians' coming to the territory of old Dacia in the 13th century from the south of the Danube, a doctrine meant to serve not the cause of historical truth, but the political interests of the

foreign ruling class, aiming at depriving the native population of their rights and, if possible, even at abolishing the Romanian nationality.

The Romanians--Eminescu asserts--are an "autochthonous people on the soil of their parents," "an ancient people on the territory of an autonomous country, which has maintained its independence during the course of hundreds of years both vis-a-vis the kings of Hungary and vis-a-vis the Turks." "The pseudo-historiographers who contest the origin and antiquity of our people in the Transylvanian mountains" have built up a speculative theory, which is denied by facts. "Indeed, one would not believe it and nevertheless there still are historiographers who think nothing of conjuring away an entire people of 10 million in Dacia, to place them in Pindus and make them come back from there, about the 13th century, from beyond the Danube" (Eminescu wrote in an article in *TIMPUL*, 4 November 1882). Through this false theory the Hungarian rulers "would like to deny the rights and existence of a people of 3 million [Romanians in Transylvania], of a real element that lives, speaks its own language and has its own culture and history." Concomitantly with Roesler's doctrine, an array of constraints, by which denationalization is attempted, are imposed by the oppressors "on an unfortunate rustic people, residing from antiquity in those places, brave in war, industrious and quiet in peacetime."

"How childish it is on their part" (of these oppressors), Eminescu notes, to imagine that they can destroy the Romanian nation. In spite of the miseries endured, the Romanians will not renege their history, national language and culture.

"The Romanians are so numerous in the Transylvanian mountains that fragments of the population of Maramures establish under Dragos the state of Moldova, fragments from the region of Fagaras--Wallachia." "Until the end of the 15th century the Romanians are in Transylvania and Hungary one of the most considerable factors in political life. Living under the reign of their own princes and under their own laws, without meddling from Hungary, builders and defenders of Strongholds, always good soldiers, the golden era in our Principalities, beginning with Mircea and concluding with Stephen the Great, is a golden era over there too." "This is an era that in Transylvania produces Prince Iancu, as the Romanian and Slavic ballads call him, Ioan Huniad Corvin." "Still in the 17th century Miron Costin writes to the King of Poland that the finest and most correct Romanian dialect, the closest one to the Italian language is spoken in Satmar, where, despite the emigration of Dragos, the Romanians that stayed there under his brother, Prince Balc, are so numerous, as if nobody had left the country."

The relations between the Romanian provinces have been uninterrupted. Beginning with the era of Matei Basarab, when the Romanian books increased in number and spread everywhere, strengthening national awareness, the Romanian people have been manifesting themselves increasingly as "an outstanding people, incapable of losing themselves in other peoples and who, in spite of being politically scattered, remains one and the same."

Emphasizing our ethnic uniqueness, the poet condemns the Hungarian rulers for interfering with the history, language and culture of the Romanians, which are unmistakable.

"The chief cultural instrument of a people" is "its language." "By the cultural value which our language has gained, by its analytical clarity, by the tie which it establishes between us and the countries of the West, the transgressions against it become transgressions against the Romance world and human civilization generally." In his pleas in defense of the Romanian language, Eminescu proudly notes that "whoever knows the Romanian language has an open path to the intellectual treasurestore of modern Romance languages, finally has the key to the Latin language, to the ancient civilization."

Eminescu's article published in TIMPUL on 4 November 1882 concludes with the poet's prediction that the Austro-Hungarian empire will be overthrown by the oppressed peoples. "The modern ministers of Hungary are daily trying to encroach on [the rights of Romanians, oppressing the Romanian nationality] and perhaps will continue to try up to the moment when the long-patient Romanian people will bury their attempts in ruins and blood."

Eminescu specifies that the chauvinistic fanaticism of the Hungarian magnates opposes genuine patriotism and that it is even damaging to their Hungarian homeland. For "a patriot is a man who contributes to the well-being of all the factors in his country; through the simultaneous advancement of all, the homeland advances" (XIII, pp 215-217, 269, 270).

It is relevant for us to insert here a fragment from an article by the Transylvanian historian Stefan Metes, a (quasi-unpublished) text written a few years after the Great Union of 1918, which has value as historical testimony, expressing on homage of gratitude of Transylvanian Romanians to Eminescu, for his contribution to strengthening national awareness and, thereby achieving the great historical act of the Union of all Romanians, of the destruction of the dualist empire and of the liberation of Transylvania from foreign rule.

After having been a pupil of the fervent Transylvanian nationalist Aron Pumnul in Cernauti--Stefan Metes writes--young Eminescu roamed everywhere "the land of suffering of Romanians under the Hungarian rule." "While a student in Vienna, Eminescu met here with several Transylvania youths, who later also became leading champions of the oppressed. From this contact, the great poet acquainted himself with all the essential problems of the Romanian people in Transylvania. To him, borders were abolished, his great soul hovered over everyone, believing forcefully in the political union of all Romanians, which may be delayed, but can never be prevented.

There never has been an important question in our life in Transylvania on which he did not comment wisely through articles published in various newspapers in Transylvania and in the Principalities. His writings, which opened up new prospects for the oppressed, was of unending use to strengthening national awareness in the fight against the centuries-old enemy. The political, economic,

cultural and literary issues regarding the Transylvanian Romanians, all found profound response in Eminescu's soul and the solutions which he provided worked their way into the nation's consciousness as being the best.

Eminescu voiced his complete solidarity with the aspirations for freedom of Transylvanian Romanians, for whose liberation he did everything he could in his time. Today, when the enemy chains which shackled our body and soul have vanished forever and we are free in Greater Romania, we Transylvanian Romanians bow in deep reverence to the brilliant Eminescu, along whose luminous paths the Romanian people will proceed for centuries, regarding him as one of the purest and most enduring national glories" (Stefan Metes, in CUVINTUL NOSTRU, 1929).

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ROUNDTABLE ON HISTORIC EXPERIENCE OF SOCIALISM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 2, 25 Jan 87; No 3, 10 Feb 87; No 4, 25 Feb 87

[Excerpts from discussion by Univ Prof Dr Olivia Clatici, Univ Prof Dr Aurelian Cosvatchi, Univ Prof Dr Constantin Enache, Univ Prof Dr Ionel Hagiu (Iasi), Univ Prof Dr Trofin Hagan (Cluj-Napoca), Univ Prof Dr Nicolae Kallos (Cluj-Napoca), Pamfil Nichitelea, Dr Ilie Radulescu, Univ Prof Dr Ion Rebedeu, Univ Lecturer Dorel Sandor, Brig Gen Dr Corneliu Soare, Univ Prof Dr Mihai Todolia (Iasi), Univ Prof Dr Florin Balaure, Univ Reader Dr Viorel Cornescu, Ioan Erhan, Dr Constantin Florea, Dr Ion Mitran, Dr Gheorghita Dina, Univ Prof Dr Eng Gheorghe Fierbinteanu and Univ Prof Dr Aurel Negucioiu (Cluj-Napoca)]

[No 2, 25 Jan 87 pp 45-52]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Socialism has reached a developmental level that calls for a critical analysis of the course taken and determination of the measures needed to improve and renovate socialism. But they must be based on previous experience in and practice of socialist construction and on the principles of scientific socialism."

While marking a qualitative leap in mankind's history, socialism has passed through a number of phases and stages of development and acquired a wealth of experience permitting an analysis of the course it has taken. Of course socialism is still a young system. In their brief historical existence the socialist countries have accomplished major socioeconomic and political reforms and made great progress, but they have also made a number of mistakes and have had occasional failures and abuses, as Nicolae Ceausescu says. In fact historical experience has shown that building the new order is no clear course nor any triumphal procession but a complicated process with many obstacles and difficulties to be overcome, defects to be remedied, and various contradictions to be resolved, and a process of continuing improvement of the various aspects of social development. But despite any shortcomings socialism has succeeded in solving problems in a short time that took whole centuries in other social systems. Experience is progressively demonstrating the superiority and vitality of the socialist principles and their great reforming power. As the RCP secretary general says, "On the whole it may be said that socialism in general has proved its power and ability to secure man's more rapid progress and to bring about real equality and justice and real independence and sovereignty."

The vast experience acquired in building the new order accordingly has many profound theoretical and practical implications, so that this experience can be analyzed scientifically and in depth only on the basis of previous practice of socialist construction and on the principles of scientific socialism and the revolutionary theory. Refuting the assertions of antisocialist and anticommunist propaganda, experience and the facts show that the socialist ideas and principles have lost none of their importance whatever nor any of their viability at all but are proving their viability and superiority more and more. The party secretary general says, "Regardless of the errors of some who are distorting socialism and its principles, the best society that has ever existed, the society of national and social justice, will win out at some point!"

These views and conclusions are theoretically and methodologically invaluable for creative, frank and scientific analysis of the vast experience acquired in the effort toward revolutionary social reform. They are particularly needed because the trends and schools that are trying to distort the facts of the socialist countries and to contest the superiority and role of the new social system as a powerful force for social progress in today's world are also gaining ground in the contemporary confrontations of ideas.

In view of the great importance of these questions, ERA SOCIALISTA arranged the following discussion, which is intended to present, in several issues, some of the conclusions and opinions about the experience acquired in building the new order in Romania and in other countries too, as well as the main features of the new order and the factors that have been contributing significantly in our period to the assertion of socialism as a higher type of social progress and human civilization. In this issue we are publishing the first part of the abridged transcription of the discussion.

MIHAI TODOSIA: K. Marx and F. Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, formulated the theory of the inevitable disappearance of capitalism, as a regular law of its evolution, and of socialism as the society that is to replace capitalism, but only in terms of general ideas. The task of practical solution of the problems of building the new society was left to the peoples and parties in the countries that adopted socialism. Some difficulties, failures and errors were overcome in this process. Promotion of ideas that proved erroneous also interfered with socialist construction, such as the idea that winning political power and instituting socialist ownership of the production means will automatically resolve all problems. The facts showed that acquisition of political power by the working class and its allies and replacement of private with social ownership only make radical social changes possible and are only the beginning of revolutionary reform, and that every developmental stage of the new order brings new and more complicated problems requiring creative solution on the principles of scientific socialism and the revolutionary theory.

Accordingly analysis of the course taken by socialism is both theoretically and practically important and a vital source of new conclusions and opinions that will help to enrich revolutionary thought and to further improve the strategies for socioeconomic development, for purposes of applying the new order's great creative potentials and fully asserting its superiority. Experience tells us that socialism still has enormous possibilities that are insufficiently used, the human creative potential being chief among them in my opinion.

Socialism is the society that is characterized by its great capacity for renovation and innovation. The Romanian people's great achievements and all that has been accomplished in Romania especially in the last 22 years illustrate the socialist system's unprecedented capacity for renovation, accepting the new, and stimulating all-around progress.

OLIVIA CLATICI: Nicolae Ceausescu's profoundly scientific conclusion that "Socialism has reached a developmental level that calls for a critical analysis of the course taken and determination of the measures needed to improve and renovate socialism" is of vital methodological, theoretical and practical importance. I think this formulation expresses a whole conception of socialism and its historical place and role and of the socialist revolution and construction of the new order as a continuous dialectical process. The RCP secretary general treats socialism as an authentic Marxist tradition and as a constantly evolving society with successes, fulfillments and great achievements but also with some shortcomings. The strength of socialism lies in the fact that it does not misrepresent the contradictions and difficulties that arise but boldly exposes those contradictions, remedies the errors, and takes resolute action to resolve the contradictions and to go on improving society.

As it has been said here, most of the socialist countries started to build the new order from precapitalist stages or from an underdeveloped capitalism, making particular efforts to consolidate the socialist revolution and construction. Moreover most of them performed tasks in the first stage of the revolution that I think belonged to capitalism, historically speaking, such as elimination of feudalism or its remnants, construction of a technical-material base of the industrial type, elimination of illiteracy etc. Capitalism developed in the heart of the old order over a long period of time, and feudalism was its cradle and material base. But socialism met with the greatest adversity, and because of the particular conditions under which it appeared it could not benefit by the most developed material base created by capitalism.

All this indicates that the difficulties of socialist construction are largely inherited from the past. The bourgeois revolution did not win out easily either, but after it was consolidated in the economically strong countries the remaining feudal states no longer had the strength to exert any disturbing influence upon the rise of capitalism. But socialism is being built while its material base is not yet as strong as that of capitalism, it is coexisting with many developed capitalist countries with powerful economic, technical-scientific and military potentials, and the reactionary imperialist circles are making every effort to crush the advance of socialism throughout the world. Besides the difficulties inherent in any internal process of revolutionary reform, the new order is also confronted with those caused by the interference of the concerted forces of world capitalism, in the form of economic, military, ideological and other pressures.

ILIE RADULESCU: The points made here about the youth of socialism in comparison with capitalism also characterize the historical development of Romanian society with certain natural exceptions. For example, if we place the beginnings of capitalism in Romania at about the time of Prince Constantin Mavrocordat's reforms, that is in the middle of the 18th century, no less than two centuries of capitalist development had accumulated by August 1944. In that period Romania's production forces developed slowly with a limited and uneven growth, although there

were real industrial revolutions in the western European countries and especially in England and France, traditional Romanian allies, and it was to be expected and would have been natural for Romania to benefit like other countries from the results and to log higher industrial growth rates. But as we know it did not turn out that way. Romania attained only an average level of capitalist development and did not succeed until the period between the wars in building any machine-building, metallurgical or rolling-stock plants or in expanding its light and extractive industries or its industry for processing agricultural products, and Romania's capitalist industrial output peaked in 1938.

But in the years of socialism, in a period 5 times shorter, and thanks particularly to the steady rates and high proportions attained after the Ninth Party Congress, Romania built an entirely new and modern technical-material base and a national economic complex based on the leading role of industry that place it among the industrial-agrarian countries today, with a vital and competitive economy and a new quality of life and work. The fact that the industrial output today is over 100 times greater than in 1938, the base year for the capitalist system in Romania, and the agricultural output is over 4 times greater demonstrates socialism's potentials for progress and its unquestionable creative power. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "We could say that we have built a developed modern industry capable of producing machinery and electronic equipment on a par with the best products on the world market. Actually there is no major sector of modern industry in which Romania is not engaged and cannot make products on a high technical level."

Romania's experience, and not Romania's alone, accordingly bears out the objective regularity of socialism as well as its validity as a social system generating progress, refuting the assertions of those who are now, as in the past, contesting or minimizing the socialist countries' socioeconomic progress and their socialist nature on the pretext that socialism has not arisen in the most developed countries of the world as Marx and Engels predicted in their time.

Unfortunately even sociologists and political scientists who are actually concerned with the social problems of their countries easily fall into unrealistic positions when they discuss socialism and the socialist countries. Allow me to remind you that in a collection of studies entitled "Une Planete et Quatre ou Cinq Mondes" published in Paris in 1985 the American essayist Octavio Paz spoke of the "failure of the communist experiment" and the "failure of the great revolutions of the 20th century," maintaining that the "absence of proletarian revolutions in Europe (sic!) belied the main prediction of Marxism." Burdened by static, metaphysical thinking, the author of those comments ignores the socialist character of the systems built in the European countries that have chosen the way of the new society on the pretext that the founders of Marxism "always thought that socialism does not come before but after development."

It is true that the founders of scientific socialism projected the new society on an analysis of the socioeconomic facts of the developed capitalist countries, but it is well known that the historical circumstances were such that the socialist revolution won out first in the underdeveloped countries, since in their case socialism was an "agent of development" on what was actually "the most rapid and effective" way to "get out of underdevelopment," to employ Octavio Paz' expression. But this shows that socialism proved capable of pulling many

countries out of backwardness inherited from the previous regimes and placing them on the path of socioeconomic progress, civilization and culture, thus demonstrating beyond all doubt its superiority over capitalism and the objectively necessary character of man's evolution toward socialism.

ION REBEDEU: To be sure, by approaching the task of building the new order in a dialectical, scientific and realistic way and by precluding idyllic views of socialism, the RCP established the idea that building the new order is no triumphal procession nor is it free of certain errors and even some abuses. It requires resolution of difficulties, correction of errors (often caused by profound misunderstanding of the objective laws and by their misapplication) and settlement of contradictions arising among various components of the socioeconomic organism, in order to secure the steady progress of socialist society. This realistic approach is based upon boundless confidence in the merits of the new order and upon the actual fact that socialism has succeeded in solving a number of problems essential to social progress in a short time.

With this in mind, Nicolae Ceausescu's conclusion that "The splendid socialist principles and ideas, which are maintaining and will maintain their validity, are not to be equated in any way or under any circumstances with the errors or abuses committed in socialist construction in any country or in any period" is of vital theoretical and methodological importance in political-educational work.

That is because critical analysis of historical experience in socialism has nothing in common with a carping, distorting attitude or with the tendency to pick out solely or primarily negative phenomena or difficulties while ignoring the great historic successes of socialism as a social system and consequently the strength and vitality of the noble principles that socialism promotes in the history of mankind.

In the light of the opinions and principles of great theoretical and practical political importance that Nicolae Ceausescu formulated in his Address to the Solemn Assembly on the 65th Anniversary of the founding of the RCP concerning historical experience in socialist construction, it is the highly responsible task of the ideological workers to indoctrinate all workers and especially youths with firm and deep-seated convictions as to the strength and vitality of socialism as a new social system and the only really viable alternative for the problems facing mankind today, and as to its superiority over capitalist society. With the wealth of arguments provided by social experience in building the new order, it is our duty to bring out the idea convincingly and in depth that in general socialism, although it is still a young system, has demonstrated its strength and its ability to accelerate man's progress and to bring about real equality and justice, real independence and sovereignty, and man's welfare and happiness, as Nicolae Ceausescu said.

It is all the more necessary to bring out the merits of the socialist ideal and of the socialist principles of social organization and management more and more emphatically because, as we know, in their efforts to discredit the new order and to sow confusion among the masses, many antisocialist and anticommunist theorists radically distort the facts of the socialist countries and present certain negative phenomena, errors or abuses in some country in some period as general, structural and inevitable characteristics of socialism.

I think the idea of continuity of the revolutionary process and the requirement intensive display of the revolutionary spirit in all fields are conclusions and also requirements of a general nature for successful socialist and communist construction. This is natural when we consider that complacency and tendencies toward isolation can be prevented only by constant display of a revolutionary attitude in social theory and practice that will secure the vitality and continuing renovation of socialist society in keeping with the requirements of experience and science. In this respect, Nicolae Ceausescu's principle that the party can honorably perform its mission of successfully leading the people on the path of socialism and communism only if it preserves and keeps developing its revolutionary spirit serves as a model for building the new order.

Historical experience shows that promotion of the revolutionary spirit is an essential and irreplaceable way of making increasingly extensive use of socialism's great resources for accelerated and comprehensive socioeconomic progress and of the vast creative potential of the people, who are purposefully building their own future in a society based on social and national justice.

Of course the revolutionary spirit has nothing in common with arbitrariness, dogmatic biases, or sterile dogmatism but requires, as the RCP documents point out, a high political-ideological, professional, scientific and cultural competence, constant attention to the requirements of the current scientific-technical revolution, the greatest receptiveness to the real requirements of experience, and a constant effort to promote the set of values of socialist humanism on behalf of the nation's prosperity and a higher socialist quality of life.

NICOLAE KALLOS: The "crisis of socialism" is now one of the main subjects of antisocialist and anticommunist propaganda. In our approach to this problem we think it is essential to distinguish from the very start between the "crisis of socialism" and "crisis phenomena or situations in socialism." As a systemic crisis, the "crisis of socialism" has existed and exists only in the wishful thinking of the enemies of socialism. It is nonsense to speak of the "systemic crisis" of a system which, in only a few decades, has won out in so many countries, become a living reality for nearly one-third of humanity, and emerged as a telling factor for contemporary world progress.

But the answer to the question "Can crisis phenomena or situations exist in socialism?" cannot be categorically negative. Such an answer would amount to an idyllic presentation of socialism that is considered false and harmful by the RCP and its secretary general. There is no occasion here to quote explicit references to the fact that difficulties and contradictions can and do exist in socialism too and that some crisis phenomena can appear under certain conditions in one country or another. We mention only the fact that such a stand logically follows from the party secretary general's views on contradictions in socialism and the possibility of nonantagonistic contradictions' becoming antagonistic ones. But crisis phenomena or situations that are real in a certain period and in a certain field can by no means be extrapolated and converted into the "crisis of socialism" as a system. On the contrary, the fact that socialism has always succeeded and will succeed in the future in overcoming those situations indicates its superiority as a social system and the absence of any "systemic crisis."

When we regard crisis phenomena and situations as stages of inception, extension and aggravation of contradictions, we regard them as a certain period of the latter that does not in itself jeopardize the stability of the system as such, since those phenomena and situations can be resolved and overcome within the system. The crisis would not threaten the stability of the system unless its causes were not discovered in time, the social management was incapable of mobilizing and concentrating the social forces on reducing and eliminating them, and its components were incorrectly evaluated, for purposes of solving the problems in a way to help strengthen the stability of the system and develop it further. And it is a notable fact when and where crisis phenomena occur in socialism, there are always some outside forces wanting to profit by them and to prolong and aggravate them.

The procedures of "overselling" and "overgeneralizing" are conspicuous in the arguments of those who are trying to extrapolate crisis situations in socialism by treating them as "systemic crises." We mean by that the procedure of presenting partial and rather simple and superficial contradictions as "serious contradictions" or "profound, general crises." I think this has created a paradoxical situation. We supporters of socialism recognize the existence of contradictions in socialism and consider them objective phenomena whose resolution helps to develop the socialist system, while our adversaries take the stand of dogmatism in the past, regarding contradictions as symptoms of a "disease" of the system!

We all know the importance the RCP attaches to surfacing the contradictions in time, preventing their aggravation, and considering their nature in order to find and promote the best ways of resolving them, while the theorists about the "crisis of socialism" extrapolate contradictions from some sectors to others (with a very frequent tendency to extrapolate economic contradictions to the social-political sectors), present sectorial contradictions as systemic ones, etc.

It is a frequent procedure of these theorists to present difficulties, errors or crisis situations in some socialist country as inevitable results of the socialist system in general, while it is a well-known fact that in addition to some objective difficulties originating outside the socialist system, as for example the world economic crisis etc., these difficulties are primarily due to certain defects and shortcomings in the work of the subjective elements in the respective country. As Nicolae Ceausescu says, "The difficulties are not due to socialism or too much socialism but to deviations and errors, to violations of some basic principles of scientific socialism or others, or to disregard of some general laws or the specific facts in a given country, and they are accordingly caused by failure to implement the socialist principles consistently."

Any objective, scientific analysis of crisis phenomena and situations in various socialist countries inevitably leads to the following conclusions. In the first place such phenomena have appeared in a certain country and at a certain time without spreading to other socialist countries and without "contaminating" socialism as such. Therefore it follows that they did not originate in socialism as a system but in the particular conditions in the respective country. In the second place, the source of crisis phenomena can usually be found in the subjective factors and not in the objective socioeconomic laws, the nature of socialist social relations, etc. It is most often a matter of mistakes made by the social management but sometimes also the work of internal and external antisocialist forces. And in the third place, historical experience tells us that the

chief requirements and most important factors for overcoming crisis phenomena and situations have been consistent promotion of the principles following from the nature of socialism, mobilization of the vast resources of the socialist system, seeking innovations on the basis of those principles and resources, the determined efforts of the masses devoted to socialism, their confidence and belief in the ideals of the new order, and the ability to provide, under party leadership, for the further consolidation and development of the new order.

AURELIAN COSMATICHI: But the so-called crisis of Marxism has nothing whatever to do with the nature of the revolutionary theory and only with some historically limited dogmatic practices in the history of Marxism. By virtue of its creative power and receptiveness to the new, Marxism is still the true guide of the radical reforms of the contemporary world and the theory that opens up a new historical perspective to mankind in the form of every people's free, independent and prosperous development. The concept of scientific socialism is characterized, among other things, by the aspiration and ability to examine the current reality critically and to anticipate the future in a regular and scientific way through constant receptiveness to the elements of the new, analytical interpretation of the requirements of the objective laws, and their application to the particular historical conditions.

Experience and the course of events indicate the conclusion that intensive promotion of the ideas of scientific socialism and revolutionary ideology are major aims of contemporary intellectuality. It is significant that scientific socialism's influential power takes various forms on many levels. Influences of some ideas of scientific socialism are to be seen in a number of works of non-Marxist thinkers, in controversial writings, in the intellectual movement of the new left, and in some ideas and programs of the young generation in the capitalist countries. A pronounced gain is also notable in the influence of scientific socialism on universities and the progressive intelligentsia in the western countries. In recent years even some bourgeois ideologists have progressed, under Marxist influence, toward a less apologetic and more critical approach to the facts of the capitalist system in their writings. More and more western sociologists, political scientists, economists and philosophers, including Catholic ones, are communicating with scientific socialism and trying to understand it, and some of them are using its categories for a better determination of the objective reality.

NICOLAE KALLOS: In connection with the subject that interests us here I should like to bring up some more than debatable points in the Marxizing literature concerning the option for socialism. I think we are seeing a rather curious phenomenon. While bourgeois ideology is inveighing against the socialist options, invoking the "outmoded," "antiquated" and "Utopian" character of Marxism, some authors styling themselves "leftist" are doing ultimately the same thing, invoking the necessity of "restoring" the truths of Marxist doctrine. For one example, in a book entitled "Imperialism, Pioneer of Capitalism," published in 1980, the Englishman Bill Warren considers himself a representative of "orthodox Marxism." On the basis of Marx' well known statements about the "demiurgic role of capitalism," he concludes that this role has been taken over and continued by imperialism. Concerning himself particularly with the problems of the "third world," he attacks the "romantic, moralizing and Utopian" stands that he thinks are predominant in the contemporary Marxist literature on these problems,

maintaining in spite of the conclusions from historical experience that capitalist development alone can make subsequent socialist reforms possible in these countries.

In general, several authors who call themselves Marxists are reviving in our times a theory well known in the past to the effect that all the difficulties and problems confronting socialism today are due to the fact that socialism was instituted (to use the preferred expressions of some authors belonging to the new left) on the periphery of the world capitalist system and not in the center of it as Marx predicted. There is no occasion for us to dwell upon critical analysis of that theory here. It is well known that the grain of truth that it contains was expressed as clearly as possible over 60 years ago in Lenin's famous formula to the effect that in the West it will be more difficult at the start but it will be easier to continue. The RCP Program for Future Transition of More and More New Peoples to Socialism is based on that scientific principle.

Another idea frequently recurring in some western authors' works on the prospects of socialism is the one to the effect that for the transition to socialism it is not enough for the masses to know what they do not want, but they must have a clear idea of what they want to construct. Therefore, those authors say, general dissatisfaction with the old states of affairs has to be supplemented with unanimous agreement on the option for the new order. At this point in the discourse the idea recurs that some of the difficulties and problems now facing socialism are due to the fact that only the first condition is operative in these countries and not the second one.

To be sure there can be situations where people as well as large groups know what they do not want and do not know exactly what they do want. But when it comes to vital social and political options, I think it is irrelevant to contrast the two situations. He who does not want oppression, inequality, injustice, poverty and ignorance wants freedom, equality, justice, prosperity and culture. Whether science and the ability to bring about this system of freedom, equality and social justice and welfare exist or not and to what extent is another question that has to do with the leadership of the revolutionary process, its relations with the masses, etc.

On this subject I should like to quote a passage from Nicolae Ceausescu's speech in August 1984 containing ideas vitally important not only to a thorough understanding of Romania's socialist development but also to our stand in the contemporary confrontations of ideas about questions of social development and the option for socialism. "If, abstractly speaking, the world could go back 40 years and we had to choose our course of development again we would still take the path of socialism with no reservations, and we would follow with all determination the same course that we have taken in the last 40 years. Perhaps if we could have our present experience we could undoubtedly do some things better, with fewer mistakes and shortcomings, but we would act with all determination in accordance with the domestic and foreign policies of this period, which have been bringing Romania up to a higher level of civilization and socioeconomic development..."

Our option of 40 years ago has proved historically necessary and correct. Our answers to objections and "critiques" like the foregoing are that we do not want and are not building any "socialism of poverty" but one of intensive material

and cultural development. For the very reason that socialism and communism are incompatible with underdevelopment, we set a high growth rate for the production forces, making a considerable effort on the ground that "Nothing comes to us out of the sky, and we get nothing for nothing." For the very reason that the option for socialism is not enough without science and the skills to build it, development of science and awareness has become a vital and critical problem in the present stage of man's social development.

In a doctoral dissertation on general social models, the West German scholar P. Hans collected and analyzed the key terms in the best-known forecasts. The most typical feature of the future society will be "cultural revolution" and "revolutionary humanism" according to Aurelio Peccei, "the flexible man" according to J. Galtung, "the coexisting society" according to I. Illich, abolition of salaried labor and material production according to Alvin Toffler, etc. But the French scholar M. Bosquet remarked with undisguised irony that all those and many others were expressed much more concisely and completely in Marx' term communism.

ILIE RADULESCU: As a matter of fact the question of socialism's historical legitimacy has been on the agendas of the ideological confrontations ever since socialism appeared as a science and a revolutionary theory. Moreover scientific socialism and historical and dialectical materialism appeared and were promoted in the course of heated confrontations of ideas. Ever since that time the many servants of capitalism have turned their polemics against socialism as a revolutionary theory and a social system, while the bourgeoisie have spent enormous sums to discredit the new order in the eyes of the working masses and to present the "progressive qualities" of capitalism in a quite undisguised apologetic way. But as we know the social processes cannot be stopped either by ideological campaigns or by other measures and socialism is now the form of social organization in many countries of the world, while as an ideology it more and more clearly dominates contemporary intellectuality and compels bourgeois ideology to relate to Marxism and the revolutionary ideology of the working class.

Romania has encountered ideological confrontations like this for a long time, and in Romania too they have accompanied the whole process of appearance, maturing and promotion of scientific socialism in practice. It is well known, for example, that at the beginning of the 20th century the Romanian workers movement had to deal with a number of "theories" presenting the revolutionary social reform as an "exotic" phenomenon with no fertile ground in Romanian, in addition to the official bourgeois ideology in declared opposition to socialism.

The bourgeois ideologists intensified their opposition to the revolutionary theory in the early 1920's, once the RCP had been founded. It is to the RCP's historic credit that by inscribing the socialist and communist ideals on its battle flag it promoted a scientific and realistic view of Romania's prospective development, took the lead in the struggle of the working class and the masses, and acted on behalf of their organization and their indoctrination in the spirit of revolutionary ideology and scientific socialism. In the course of the revolutionary battles, the ideological confrontations with bourgeois ideas, and opposition to various mistaken views and practices in its own ranks (some of foreign origin, imposed from outside), the RCP gradually reached a realistic determination of the prospects of the revolution in Romania and of the roles of the various social and political forces in the process, and it secured the victory of

the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation in August 1944, a landmark in Romania's development.

As we know, in the first years of the revolution, a period, when the outcome of the struggle for power was decided by the people's actions, the reactionary ideologists tried again to contest the necessity of radical social reforms and the viability of socialism in Romania. But all these assertions were refuted by social experience, which demonstrated the reforming power of socialism through the Romanian people's great achievements under the RCP's leadership in the years since the revolution in August 1944 and especially since the Ninth Party Congress. We are accordingly quite justified in saying that in Romania socialism is truly synonymous with progress and with interpenetrating all-around progress. As in other countries, socialism was instituted in Romania as a historical necessity and the only way to extricate the country from the state of economic underdevelopment and social instability to which it had been reduced by the place and role assigned it in the capitalist system of the world economy as a source of raw materials and a selling market for the foreign monopolies.

CORNELIU SOARE: Actually the idea of a "single model" that arose at one time did nothing but impoverish experience, while it contradicted the objective dialectics of the revolutionary process, led to mechanical imitation, and obstructed the creative development of Marxist thought. The repudiation of this very harmful idea, to which the RCP made a noteworthy contribution, proved beneficial and lent a new impetus to revolutionary thought and practice, to efforts to promote the new, and to creative solution of the problems presented by experience in accordance with the current facts.

IONEL HAGIU: Because of the great diversity of the economic, social, political and other conditions under which the transition to the new social system is made, no universally valid formula can be determined. No one has the right to impose upon other parties the course that they shall take in the struggle for socialism. Experience tells us that no one can know the requirements for each country's development better than the Communist Party and the revolutionary forces in the respective country.

The RCP and its secretary general keep pointing out that determination of the strategy and tactics of socialist revolution and construction is the sovereign attribute of the revolutionary forces in each country. It is every party's right to determine its strategy and tactics independently, with no outside interference, and according to the specific social-political conditions and particular circumstances under which it operates. No one can contest, annul or detract from that right on any pretext. It has been demonstrated in practice that it is only by operating in this way that each party can fulfill its fundamental obligation to its own people and to the general interests of the cause of socialism and communism.

Historical experience shows that the choice of ways of implementing socialist revolution and construction is up to the revolutionary forces in the respective country and depends upon the specific-historical conditions, the class balance of power, the extent of the revolutionary forces' awareness and organization, whether the masses can impose the necessary changes peacefully or not, the ruling classes' power to resist, and whether or not they use violence. The socialist revolutions accomplished so far, by demonstrating the possibility of

various ways and means of accomplishing them, have proved that the revolutionary party has to master all forms of combat without exception so that it can employ them in keeping with the changing conditions in the course of the revolution. The revolutionary process in Romania fully confirms this conclusion. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Experience in Romania's revolutionary struggle in the period between the liberation and the acquisition of political power and later in the years of building socialism very clearly demonstrates that the ways and means of gaining political power, peaceful or otherwise, depend upon the balance of power and how the masses become purposeful and able, at a given point, to impose the necessary changes in their country in one way or another."

Experience in socialist revolutions and construction shows that the diversity of the ways to socialism does not impair but secures achievement of socialism with better results as well as the conditions for the shift of more and more new peoples to the course of socialism.

PAMFIL NICHITELEA: The variety and depth of the contemporary revolutionary reforms very forcefully bring out the theoretical and practical importance of a correct and consistently dialectical interpretation of the relationship between the general and particular in socialist revolution and construction, emphasizing the need of creative application of the general laws of social development to each country's particular conditions and consideration of the particular historical circumstances in which each party operates. Experience tells us that any neglect of the general laws and principles of socialism, as well as ignorance or insufficient study of the actual conditions, may cause great difficulties in building the new order. Accordingly the success of the strategy and tactics of socialist construction depends upon each party's ability to analyze the particular socioeconomic and historical conditions as well as the present and future phenomena and general trends of socialist development creatively, scientifically and comprehensively.

Accordingly the solutions and answers to a given problem of socialist construction are not to be found in generally valid theories or principles nor in practices pertaining to other stages or other national and international specific-historical conditions. Experience proves that recourse to principles valid in other stages to explain a particular situation, present or foreseeable, impairs the creative revolutionary spirit and leads to conservatism and backwardness, while specific and comprehensive study of the actual processes and phenomena is the only method that can refresh social thought, prevent or eliminate the bad effects of the old, and open the way to the new and to progress.

This method of comprehensive analysis of the very diverse particular conditions, without which any principle or general truth correct in itself would become an inoperative abstraction, emphatically reveals the theoretical inconsistency of the tendencies to absolutize the revolutionary experience of any country and to present it as the sole model of socialism. Social experience demonstrates that that what was valid in certain conditions is not in others, and that the measures, ways and means whereby a past revolution was conducted cannot be exactly repeated because the historical circumstances under which it was won were unique.

IONEL HAGIU: It is a fully proven fact that socialist revolution and construction are original historic undertakings of the revolutionary forces in each country and the results of creative application of the general laws to its actual particular conditions.

The existence of general laws of revolutionary social reform on the way to socialism has been demonstrated by experience in past socialist revolutions. It is based on the fact that essentially the socialist revolution is expected to resolve the same contradictions, to establish the same kinds of political power and economic relations, and to meet the requirements of the historic mission of the working class. As it says in the RCP Program, the essentials for socialism are and always will be the nature of the political power and production relations, acquisition of state power by the workers, institution of socialist ownership of the production means, abolition of exploitation of man by man, and application of the socialist principles of distribution. Those general principles and characteristics are valid for all countries shifting to socialism. Of course the general laws and concepts of the revolutionary process will be continually refined as the socialist revolution is implemented by new peoples and the world's revolutionary experience is broadened and enhanced, and new elements will enter into their formulation.

But as it has been said here, the general laws of building the new order operate under a wide diversity of conditions, while their requirements are met in and through each country's particular conditions. Therefore, as Nicolae Ceausescu says, "Socialist construction must be based upon both the general laws and the actual economic, social, historical and national conditions of each country and each people. Any disregard of the general socialist laws and principles can do great damage and even endanger socialist construction, but by the same token disregard of the actual conditions and application of models or patterns unsuited to those conditions may cause great difficulties."

In the light of this scientific analysis, some theorists' tendency to accept the theory of "permanence" or "invariability" of general laws throughout one and the same social system can be regarded only as subjective. The Marxist principle is still entirely valid to the effect that the same economic base and the same point of departure of the main conditions can present endless variations and gradations in their later manifestations under innumerable and diverse circumstances, conditions, interactions and influences, which variations can be understood only in the light of the "given empirical circumstances," as Marx said.

PAMFIL NICHITELEA: The great diversity of conditions and situations affects the process of revolutionary social reform in such a way that the process, which is unique in its general characteristics, acquires distinctive features from one country to the next and takes a multitude of forms. Those who tend to absolutize experiences of one or only a few countries and to present them as reflections of general laws of the revolutionary process overlook the fact that in reality, the particular conditions are not just contributory factors that would affect nonessential aspects of the general laws, as it is sometimes believed, but a whole objective framework indispensable to the laws' very operation.

Experience shows that socialist construction is a far-reaching and dynamic historical process and a constantly evolving reality. Its laws, requirements and developmental rates are based and depend upon the particular phenomena and conditions in each country. As Nicolae Ceausescu says, "There is no model for socialist construction. The general laws are applied differently in each country and in each stage of socioeconomic development. No country's socialism can be denied on those principles, nor can the socialism in one country be contrasted with that in other countries or with the socialism to be built in other countries."

IONEL HAGIU: To be sure the specific measures and social-political structures and relations promoted in any one country cannot be considered universally valid formulae, systems or models to be followed. It is to the RCP's credit that it has emphasized, whenever necessary, the importance of the internal factors in socialist revolution and has firmly opposed the principle of exporting revolution. The general is inherently involved in the individual and particular but it is materialized under specific, well-determined circumstances. The continuity of the historical process in any country precludes any possibility of "transplanting," importing or exporting a revolutionary or counterrevolutionary process. It is a widely accepted conclusion that social progress is made in particular ways characteristic of a period or of a group of countries but also through a variety of individual characteristics typical of a single country.

These principles are becoming more important under the present international conditions. Analysis of the present period, the balance of power, and the necessity of solving the great contemporary problems bears out the view of the RCP and its secretary general that the internal factors are vital to the victory of socialist revolution and construction. The current balance of power indicates that the contradictions between capitalism and socialism and between the rich and poor countries cannot and must not be resolved by military confrontations. They can and must be resolved peacefully in the course of peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism.

Meanwhile the international situation in which the socialist revolution is going on is an important factor because it can help or hinder the task of the internal revolutionary forces. Therefore consideration of both the internal and the international conditions is a necessity for determining the revolutionary party's political policy, strategy and tactics. It is accordingly vital to study the revolutionary experience of other parties and countries, to apply the lessons of that experience creatively to the internal conditions, and to keep consolidating the unity and collaboration of all progressive and advanced revolutionary forces, both nationally and internationally, in the struggle for the victory of the causes of national independence, social progress, and peace and collaboration in the world.

[No 3, 10 Feb 87 pp 17-26]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Speaking of the need of further improving and developing socialism, I think we must always proceed from the lessons we have learned and from experience and practice of socialist construction, but we must never lose sight of the invincible principles of scientific socialism and communism."

Our period is chiefly characterized by man's transition from capitalist to communist society, the commitment of more and more countries to the course of the new order, and the conversion of socialism to a powerful force in international affairs and for progress and civilization. Socialism has now reached a developmental level that calls for analysis of the course taken and determination of the measures needed to further improve and renovate it. But this must be based on previous experience and practice of socialist construction and on the principles of scientific socialism and the revolutionary theory, which have proved their viability and their great reforming power.

To be sure socialism is still a young system. Mistakes were made in building the new order and shortcomings and defects appeared, but socialism succeeded in spite of them in solving in a short time problems that took whole centuries in other social systems, and it obtained noteworthy results in socioeconomic development. The socialist countries' enormous successes demonstrate beyond a doubt the superiority of the socialist way of social development and the correctness of the principles of scientific socialism and the revolutionary conception of world reform. Therefore socialism can be further improved and developed solely on the basis of the previously acquired lessons and experience and consistent and creative application of the invincible principles of scientific socialism and of communism. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech at the solemn ceremony in honor of his birthday and long revolutionary activity, "We can speak of socialist renovation and improvement of socialism solely on the basis of those principles and the necessity of developing and enriching them with the vast advances of science, the practice of socialist construction, and the people's revolutionary effort."

In view of these ideas, opinions and conclusions of vast theoretical and practical importance to creative, frank and scientific analysis of the wealth of experience acquired in the struggle for revolutionary social reform, ERA SOCIALISTA arranged the present discussion. The first part of it, published in No 2, 1987, brought out the objective necessity of building the new order, the continuity of the revolutionary process, and the urgent need of promoting the innovative revolutionary spirit in all activities, with emphasis upon the superiority of socialism. Some political-ideological trends and schools were also critically examined in their attempts to distort the actual conditions in the socialist countries and to contest the superiority and role of socialism as a powerful force for social progress and the contemporary world's development. We are publishing the second part of the discussion in this issue.

CONSTANTIN FLOREA: The nature and content of the present period, the new quantitative and qualitative dimensions of the worldwide revolutionary process, the social, economic and political trends and phenomena characteristic of the present stage of man's development, and the whole evolution of international affairs eloquently confirm the conclusion, emphasized by the RCP and its secretary general, as to the viability of the Marxist theory and the enormous reforming power of socialist ideas. Indeed our period presents the picture of immense national and international revolutionary reforms, economic, social, political, material and cultural, of an unprecedented scope and diversity. Thanks to the great changes made in the last decades, the worldwide revolutionary process has attained a new and qualitatively higher level and developed in both breadth and depth. Although it is taking a contradictory path marked by many obstacles and difficulties and by ebbs and flows, this process is on a generally rising course. It is characterized by the peoples' choice of socialism, a system better than all previous socioeconomic units, socialism's growing role and influence in international affairs and in all contemporary social development, the more pronounced assertion of the peoples' will to create their own future in freedom and to build a better and more just world, and the increasingly forceful manifestation of the power of the revolutionary theory devised by Marx and Engels.

As we know, socialism has gained some of the most important positions in the social-political profile of mankind and in international affairs, emerging as the

inevitable future of all human society. In a relatively short period the socialist system was transformed from an ideal of the most progressive social and political forces into a living reality reflecting the peoples' vital aspirations to a more equitable and rational society, to progress and civilization, and to a world without armaments and wars.

An event of historic worldwide importance, the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution won 70 years ago under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by V. I. Lenin led to the founding of the first socialist state in the world, inaugurating a new era in the development of human society and lending a powerful impetus to the struggles for national and social liberation of the peoples in many countries of the world. Under the CPSU's leadership, the Soviet people successfully constructed the new social system, making the Soviet Union a great and powerful socialist state. Socialism was further consolidated after World War II through the peoples' revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the communist and workers parties, and it won out in a series of new countries in Europe (including Romania), Asia and Latin America. The victory of the people's revolution in China and the great progress made in socialist construction by the PRC under the Communist Party's leadership were of particular historical importance in this connection.

The major successes of the socialist countries in economic, cultural, scientific and educational development, in raising the masses' material and cultural living standard, and in building the new society are important contributions to the greater prestige and influential power of socialism in the world and to the enrichment of revolutionary theory and practice with new theories and conclusions. The inauguration and consolidation of socialism, continuing improvement of socio-economic activity, and mobilization of the masses' creative energies have been creating favorable conditions for further development of the new order to higher levels and for asserting the superiority of socialism and the historical and dialectical-materialist doctrine. Historical experience indicates that the socialist countries' progress and their advance on the path of socialism toward communism are inseparable from consistent and also creative application of the fundamental principles of scientific socialism.

Despite the malicious assertions of the antisocialist and anticommunist propagandists, experience tells us that in view of the rapid development of the modern production forces and the new technical-scientific revolution, socialism alone can do away with underdevelopment in a short historical period and secure the uniform, controlled, most productive and democratic use of the resources needed for accelerated development of the production forces, creating a modern economy, overcoming the lags inherited from the past, and bringing every country up to the level of the advanced countries. Transition to socialism is accordingly a historical imperative for all countries of the world, a fact borne out by all past experience in socialist revolution and construction in the world. In summarizing man's experience in his progress toward socialism with particular acumen and in bringing out the profound implications of the socialist countries' revolutionary reforms, Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech on 26 January 1987 that "The long road traveled by the socialist countries, beginning with the Soviet Union, and their vast achievements unquestionably demonstrate the superiority and correctness of the socialist way of social development and the correctness of the principles of scientific socialism and the revolutionary view of world reform. But socialist society has also traveled a long road,

through many stages. As we speak of Romania's developmental stages, practically every socialist country has passed through various stages of development of one kind or another. We have acquired an effective socialist accumulation, so to speak, both from the standpoint of the production forces, science and culture and from that of socialist practice and experience. Considering, on the whole, all that was good, we can say that experience has demonstrated the correctness, I repeat, of socialism and that progress has been made that is unthinkable in other systems, in spite of the defects, shortcomings and errors that were committed."

In our time the socialist ideas are sinking more and more deeply into the peoples' awareness because they provide for fulfillment of man's aspirations to freedom, justice and prosperity and represent the kind of civilization that is emerging as the only viable prospect of the historical development of mankind that the working masses and peoples everywhere hope for and believe in. That fact is even more striking when we consider that the capitalist world, in spite of the progress it has made in developing the production forces, which progress is limited and uneven, is proving less and less capable of really solving in the masses' interest the great socioeconomic problems with which it is confronted, to say nothing of man's global problems in general. The contradictions characteristic of the system based on exploitation and oppression and of the imperialist, colonial and neocolonial policy are being constantly aggravated, and new contradictions and conflicts are appearing and worsening in the structure of the old society. Growing mass unemployment, socioeconomic inequality, inflation, economic, social, ideological and moral crisis phenomena, and the conservative forces' policy of foisting the burdens of the crisis on the working class, the masses, and the poor countries as well clearly indicate the conclusion that sooner or later the capitalist system must give way to a new social system that can secure all peoples' real and rapid progress. Moreover experience indicates that more and more new peoples who were engaged in the last decades in consolidating their national independence are opting for a socialist development (some of them directly for scientific socialism or for Marxism-Leninism), firmly opposing capitalist ways of development, and rejecting the system based on exploitation, inequality and oppression. More and more extensive revolutionary and progressive forces in the developed capitalist countries are acting in the same direction. This historical development refutes the positions of the reactionary bourgeois apologists and emphatically confirms the Marxist theory of the inevitable disappearance of capitalism and man's transition to a higher stage of development, namely socialism.

DOREL SANDOR: Certainly any careful evaluation of the experience acquired in building the new order brings out the continuing withdrawal of political-ideological procedure from a number of distorting trends. In fact, the critical withdrawal from such trends, an attitude characteristic of the RCP's political thought and practical action since the Ninth RCP Congress, provides a suitable background for creative treatment of the problems of socialist construction. We are referring to the great help of the RCP and its secretary general in the last 20 years in overcoming some one-sided views of development and exposing the error of rating the various specific experiences in socialist construction and the dangers of making fetishes of "standard" experiences, contrasting them with other experiences, and even contesting the value and socialist character of other peoples' revolutionary experience in the name of a set of criteria derived from an assumed monopoly on the truth.

Some important conclusions can be drawn from the communist parties' own revaluations in a number of socialist countries in the period of transition to new stages and periods of development. In addition to new factors for progress, those revaluations also revealed the complex and contradictory character of the course that had been taken and led to correction of some idyllic, unrealistic images of socialism and to self-critical correction of political-practical errors and conditions that once favored some dysfunctional developments.

Moreover notable efforts were made to repropportion the roles and importance of some structures previously placed in marginal positions. Accordingly, major developmental resources are to be found today in the formation and improvement of democratic participative structures, and in the more efficient operation of the mechanisms of representation and the electoral system. More emphasis is also placed on socialist improvement of distribution relationships in connection with socialist ownership and on extensive use of the qualitative and intensive factors in economic activity and of the economic levers and mechanisms of socialism. Some countries are giving more consideration to the national factor and democratic political traditions in building the new social order and in forming and developing a characteristic intellectuality for the new order, etc.

ION REBEDEU: Naturally it is impossible to analyse the very rich experience acquired in building the new order or to bring out the value and significance of the ideas and principles of scientific socialism and of the creative theoretical innovations that have been made without a scientific and productive approach and comparison with social experience. Experience and reality are the court to which we must appeal in order to evaluate a new theory or innovations in the nature and operation of socialist society.

Analysis of the historic course taken by the new social order actually involves bringing out, in the light of social experience, the viability of the fundamental principles of scientific socialism and the legitimacy of socialism in the world of today, as well as the factors that have helped significantly in our period to assert socialism as a superior social system. Creative application and development of the revolutionary theory and socialism's power to renovate itself in keeping with the great changes that are shaping our period are outstanding among those factors. Original and innovative answers and solutions to the new problems in any socialist country that have been proving their social, political and human validity and effectiveness are important contributions to the enrichment of the treasury of revolutionary theory. They are also sources of theoretical reflection and conclusions for the communist and workers parties and clearly subjects for dialogue and exchange of experience.

Through the works of its secretary general, the RCP made invaluable contributions in this respect, especially in the period inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress, to the creative, innovating and revolutionary solution, on the basis of historical and dialectical materialism and scientific socialism, of the many and complicated problems of building the fully developed socialist society on Romanian soil, thus enriching the universal treasury of revolutionary theory on a broad scale and in a significant way.

Analysis of the experience acquired in building the new social order involves revision of some principles or guidelines concerning socialist revolution and

construction that have lost their validity in general or at least for certain circumstances, as well as revision of some ideas or opinions that were at odds from the start with reality and socialism's set of values (the idea that the class struggle is aggravated with progress in socialist construction, or the principle that "who is not with us is against us," to cite just two examples) and some erroneous practices harmful to the noble cause of socialism and communism (abuses, ignoring objective requirements, underrating the role and significance of socialist democracy, etc.).

DOREL SANDOR: Experience has demonstrated that if the creative spirit is to be promoted in the treatment of the problems of the new order, it is necessary to repudiate an older view of experience in socialism to the effect that that experience is merely a "practical confirmation" of the "guiding ideas" of classic Marxism, a necessity frequently stressed in the RCP documents and Nicolae Ceausescu's works. Therefore it is a first concern in this effort toward reconsideration to abandon any such nondialectical way of analyzing the stage of socialist society's development in favor of exploiting the cognitive and axiological potentials of both national and global historical experience in building the new order. Of course they must be exploited on the basic principles of scientific socialism and the revolutionary theory. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech on 26 January 1967, "There can be no socialist renovation that is not based on those principles and on the need of developing and enriching them with the immense gains of science and of experience in socialist construction and the peoples' revolutionary struggle."

CORNELIU SOARE: It should be noted that a social reform on such a wide scale as socialist construction, a purposeful experience so rich in significance and implications, is invaluable for purposes of perception, evaluation and verification and provides a lasting basis for unquestionable conclusions and for profound and far-reaching philosophical generalizations. With the force of the basic criterion of historical truth, experience in socialist construction demonstrates the superiority of the system that permanently abolishes exploitation of man by man as well as social and national inequality and injustice, releases the production forces and the creative energies of the masses, lends a profoundly humane and rational purpose to all social activities and achievements, brings civilization and culture up to ever higher levels, and enables the peoples to achieve self-determination and to build their happy future in freedom. The working class has proved its ability to lead society better than the bourgeoisie, to secure socioeconomic progress on the basis of socialist ownership of the production means, to organize the state on a really democratic basis, to unite all classes and categories of workers of all nationalities, and to mobilize the entire people for purposeful social construction. These are facts, results and convincing proofs of a kind to strengthen confidence in the correctness of the general and fundamental principles of scientific socialism, creatively applied to a wide variety of specific situations, conditions and revolutionary processes.

Of course it should be pointed out that experience in socialist construction is not over and that it has not exhausted the resources for asserting the superiority of the new social order over capitalism. It is open to new and important acquisitions in confrontation with the present-day world's complicated problems and with the requirements for building the fully developed socialist society and for the advance toward communism. Socialism is said to be a young society. The

future belongs to it. But in building that future we have to blaze new trails and face new difficulties and contradictions, as the RCP secretary general has so meaningfully stated. Therefore revolutionary social science must be consistently applied and also constantly enriched on the basis of in-depth analysis of the experience acquired so that it can forecast future development, light the path of practice, and encourage social innovation more and more extensively. As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the solemn celebration of his birthday and in honor of his long revolutionary activity, "We cannot secure steady progress without a clear and scientific guide! And we must make every effort to develop and strengthen the RCP's revolutionary conception in order to lend new dimensions to the scientific socialist conception of the world and life, basing those advances in all fields on the revolutionary conception of the world and life, which is actually scientific socialism and communism and has been from the start!"

[No 4, 25 Feb 87 pp 19-27]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu said, "All that we have accomplished in Romania and all that has been accomplished in other socialist countries emphatically demonstrate that the principles of scientific socialism are correct and that socialism alone can bring about a society wherein people and nations can fully enjoy the marvelous advances of science, culture and socioeconomic progress and can secure their prosperity, happiness and real independence and sovereignty!"

In ERA SOCIALISTA nos 2 and 3 we published the first two parts of the present discussion, wherein a number of vital questions were analyzed in the light of the experience acquired and the principles of scientific socialism, such as the objective necessity and superiority of the new order, the revolutionary significance of the great socialist socioeconomic reforms, and the role and importance of socialist ownership as an objective law of development and improvement of socialist society. Some political-ideological trends and schools were also critically examined in their attempts to distort the actual situations in the socialist countries and to contest the superiority and role of socialism as a powerful force for social progress and the contemporary world's development.

The third part of the discussion, published in this issue, analyzes the roles of planning in management and harmonious development of the socialist economy, of the intensive-qualitative factors in socioeconomic development, and of science and technology in the all-around progress of socialist society.

Critical Roles of Uniform, Scientific Social Management and Planned Development. Socialism Cannot Be Improved by Going Back to Free Competition. The Principles of Self-Management and Self-Administration Must be Firmly Applied. Greater Role of Party and State in Socioeconomic Management and Organization.

GHEORGHIITA DINA: Planned, proportional development of the economy is one of the main points in asserting the superiority of socialism as an economic and social system that provides the widest opportunities for intensive mobilization and efficient use of society's resources and for accelerated growth of the production forces in order to further improve the living conditions of all its members and their free and all-around development.

Romania's experience and that of all the socialist countries as well demonstrate that preplanned economic management is both necessary and possible. Socialist

ownership of the production means requires uniform, planned economic management while it is also the main factor that makes socioeconomic planning possible on the macroeconomic level.

The necessity of uniform, planned management of the national economy is primarily due to the high degree of concentration, diversification and combination of production and to the extent of the connections among the areas of social reproduction and the components of the national economy which, viewed in its entirety, is a vast complex of activities, units and work places grouped in organizational compartments and components, sectors and subsectors interconnected by the social division of labor and by many and varied arrangements for cooperation and exchange of activities. The normal progress of social reproduction objectively requires all these components of the national economy to operate in such a way that all resources will be procured, distributed among sectors and used, and maximum results will be obtained both in every unit and throughout the national economy.

In socialism planning is the chief instrument with which society, the economic units and the regional-administrative units intervene purposefully and actively to regulate and direct social production uniformly and according to the workers' interests and general aims. It is an essential component of the operating mechanism of the economy and a basic requirement for the RCP's management of all socioeconomic activity and for the successful performance of the economic role and functions of the socialist state.

In the party's view planned management of the national economy is the sole attribute of the socialist state and of national sovereignty and independence as well as the main way to secure the people's right to unrestricted dominion over their resources, and to rule on the problems of socioeconomic progress.

In socialism the chief production means are socially owned and a single, indivisible resource of the national economy. The necessity of uniform coordination and direction of economic activity regularly follows from that basic characteristic of the production relations. Actually, however, economic activity is performed in units that operate independently, so that the socially owned production means are directly managed by various workers collectives working in different production units. Both the progress of the national economy as a whole and each worker's greater benefit ultimately depend upon the efficiency with which the production means are used by every worker and every producer. Hence the regular necessity of harmonious combination of uniform management based on the Unified National Plan with the socioeconomic units' initiative, and of extensive development of revolutionary workers democracy, the initiative of the masses, and the masses' active, institutionalized participation in socioeconomic management.

FLORIN BALAUDE: It is well known that the socialist economy is based upon public ownership of the production means, state and cooperative, and it takes the form of commodity production. Therefore the categories and instruments of commodity production (value, price, cost, income, supply, demand and market) continue to operate in economic activity, in the relations among the producer units, in production, and in exchanges and consumption. Various ideas about their roles in the operating mechanism of the socialist economy have appeared in the course of time, from denying or minimizing them to making absolutes and fetishes of them. Recently there has been a recrudescence of ideas in favor of a so-called

liberalization of the socialist economy, on the pretext of considering the use of the commodity-production categories, and a repudiation or attenuation of uniform planned management of socioeconomic development by shifting to a "free market economy." In effect, they are actually maintaining the "necessity" and "usefulness" of transferring some laws and mechanisms peculiar to capitalist enterprises to socialism. Experience has been refuting such ideas. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech at the solemn celebration in honor of his birthday and long revolutionary activity, "There is no way socialism can be improved by going back to the so-called socialism of the market and free competition."

In view of the division of labor and specialization of production, the economic units and enterprises are unquestionably the cells of which the economy is composed in the socialist system too. They produce use values and services in both capitalism and socialism. But their operating mechanisms are entirely different in the two systems. The laws and mechanisms basic to their operation necessarily differ because the systems of production relations and especially of property relations are radically different. In the socialist system the enterprises' activity and all economic activity are based on the workers' joint ownership of the production means. The direct producers are also joint owners of the production means and beneficiaries of all that is produced by their labor and efforts. In this new socioeconomic structure the direct purpose of production is to meet the needs of the members of society, and to that end society entrusts the producer collectives in the various units with portions of the national reserve of production means for their administration and use. By receiving a certain portion of the people's wealth to manage, the enterprises and their collectives assume the obligation and responsibility to manage it in keeping with the people's needs and to supply society with a given quantity of use values and services, while making highly efficient use of all material resources.

Clearly while the intensive factors for growth are being regularly promoted, the economic units of any kind are objectively placed in a position to procure the resources needed for their self-development by their own efforts and to work for more and more intensive use of the production factors in order to obtain net incomes, profits and higher profitability. In Romania the units were invested by law with broad functions, powers, rights, obligations and responsibilities for that purpose and they also have the necessary means and instruments to implement them. But it must be remembered that this tendency of the enterprises' to minimize costs and maximize profits by all means may take the form, in some cases, of expanding production of products and assortments that bring the respective unit a high profitability and neglecting production of other products in the planned proportions, and actual experience shows that this also happens. Resources (raw materials, materials, energy etc.) are sometimes consumed in this way for outputs that later prove to be in excess of the social need and consequently remain unsold and start up a chain of disruptions. Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly pointed out that the difficulties that arise in technical-material supply are due to such deviations from the planned structure and that failure to meet contractual obligations punctually and completely and disregard of the planned standard varieties are factors for imbalance that interfere with the reproduction process and also affect the living and working conditions of the members of society. That is why the party does not believe that the operating mechanism of the socialist economy can be based upon the idea of letting each enterprise produce what it wants to or to contract for what it wishes, or to base its activity largely upon chance market signals, and it certainly cannot be based on chance and the free fluctuation of prices.

Experience in the new order shows that the socialist economy is regularly and objectively characterized by planning and purposefully coordinated, synchronized and directed social production, so that it can meet the requirements for growth and modernization of the production forces, for the material and financial balance of production, and for adequate satisfaction of all needs and interests in every given stage. The theories that advocate, in one way or another, reduction or attenuation of planned management of socioeconomic development and a shift to a so-called free market economy actually deny the role of the purposeful factor in directing economic development and make a universal law out of chance and automatic operation of the economic laws. Such a course of social production is foreign to socialism and in conflict with the nature of production relations based on the producers' ownership of the production means and with the producers' vital interests.

In the RCP's view, in keeping with the spirit of the historical and dialectical materialist theory, the socialist system and planned development are inseparable. Uniform economic management and direction, based upon knowledge and purposeful use of the objective economic laws, is a major component of the operating mechanism of socioeconomic activity in socialist society, indispensable to harmonious and constantly gaining development of social production. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his Report to the 13th Party Congress, the members of Romanian socialist society must act "purposefully in applying the economic laws, doing away with their voluntarism, but with their automatic operation as well. Application of the new mechanism and the general economic laws must not be left to chance but purposefully managed. Therein lies the leadership of the party and the socialist state."

GHEORGHE FIERBINTEANU: Experience has certainly proved that all planning activity must be based on the fundamental principle of increasingly intensive promotion of the leadership of the RCP, the vital center of our whole social system and the vital factor for scientific social management. The content of the new stage of Romanian society's development, characterized by very far-reaching social reforms, calls for further development of the party's leadership in all activities. That is the only way uniform social development can be accomplished.

Of course there are responsibilities and objectives for various activities in the socialist division of labor and in the social division of society's development. The socialist state and the workers revolutionary democratic bodies have and increasingly important part to play in this respect. But that does not detract from the party's role or functions in scientific management of all socioeconomic activity. On the contrary, it calls for greater responsibility for the party and its organs and organizations for each sector's performance. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech on 26 January 1987, "what kind of a leading party would we be, and how could we fulfill our responsibility to the people if we did not take steps in all sectors to carry out the decisions of the congress and the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society? There can be no self-management or revolutionary democracy without the leadership of the party as the standard bearer and the vital center from which all of Romania's creative energies will emanate!"

The party's growing role in social management is closely combined with the increasingly broad functions of the socialist state and the workers revolutionary democratic bodies in organizing and directing all socioeconomic activities. In

the party's view democratic centralism, the fundamental principle of socioeconomic organization and management, calls for further efforts to expand the socioeconomic units' initiative in all activities while maintaining the principle of uniform management on the basis of the Unified Plan and also developing that initiative in terms of the concept of uniform management of Romanian society.

GHEORGHIITA DINA: In stressing the objective necessity of uniform scientific management of all socioeconomic activity, Nicolae Ceausescu said in his Report to the 13th RCP Congress that "We cannot weaken uniform socioeconomic management based on the Unified Plan in any way, because it will combine the interests of each unit and each workers collective with the general interests of Romanian socialist society and of the entire people."

Social development as a whole and purposeful application of the objective economic laws require a greater economic role for the socialist state in keeping with the developmental stage of the economy and of society as a whole, and an increase in its functions of purposeful management and organization. As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the 13th Party Congress, "If we renounced the principle of management according to the Unified Plan for Socioeconomic Development, it would inevitably result in disorganization of the activity and a number of contradictions with serious repercussions in socialist construction, national development and improvement of the people's material and cultural living standard." Hence the need for every economic unit to conform to the provisions of the Unified National Plan for Socioeconomic Development, and its initiative will be reflected in exemplary fulfillment of its plan tasks, products on a high technical and qualitative level, and efficient management of the material, financial and manpower resources. Putting narrow, group interests ahead of the general interests of the national economy can lead to serious discrepancies in social production.

Historical experience in socialism clearly proves that the extent of socioeconomic development, the complexity of the economic problems, and the intensified interdependences in the national economy require uniform management of all socioeconomic activity according to the Unified National Plan as an objective necessity.

Intensive Development as an Objective Requirement of the Present Stage.

Intensive Growth of Labor Productivity and Economic Effectiveness.

Urgent Need of Modernized Production and Higher Technical, Qualitative Standards.

AUREL NEGUCIOIU: I would like to remind you in this connection that effectiveness in socialist society was not always correctly understood from the standpoints of either its necessity or the ways and means of obtaining it. The view was still current 20 years ago that the socialist economy's ability to finance unprofitable outputs for a long period is one of the aspects of its superiority. That idea was actually expressed by organization and performance of economic activity with "planned losses," to use the expression of the time. It was fully and soundly criticized by Nicolae Ceausescu, who proved that it "flagrantly conflicts with the requirements for the new order's development" and "is the expression of a rudimentary economic outlook."

Production with losses, planned or unplanned, in the socialist economy flagrantly contradicts the general interests of society and the interests of its members. Workers collectives working at losses are not acting in accordance with

their status as owners of the national wealth, associated socialist producers, and participants in socioeconomic management and organization. Society has entrusted them with a portion of public property not to waste but for preservation and economic exploitation in accord with the general economic needs and interests, collective and individual. But by their actions those collectives have not only failed to preserve the entrusted property but have impaired it, not having even accomplished mere reproduction. In those cases, the socialist property cannot be used or exploited and it accordingly loses any economic significance that it has. Accumulation and expanded reproduction are the laws that govern economic activity in socialist society. Production at losses contradicts the equality of the members of society in regard to ownership and use of the production means. The losses caused by some collectives are covered out of the labor of those who work efficiently, in flagrant contradiction with the socialist principles of equity and equality to a point where some are living at the expense of others.

Meanwhile some collectives' production at long-term losses directly reflects economic deterioration and therefore diminishes the national income and gross national product, as well as the possibilities for growth and development of the national economy and improvement of the material and cultural welfare of the members of society. In no case can production at losses indicate the superiority of socialism over capitalism. Socialism does not really prove its superiority over capitalism unless it obtains a higher labor productivity and economic effectiveness.

In the socialist system profitability and economic effectiveness have become major problems of the economy and society as a whole. Any economic activity in socialism must meet some actual social needs and produce high-quality material values, which are obtained however with the lowest possible outlays of live and materialized labor and natural resources, which accordingly must be as effective as possible. That is the only way socialist production can exploit its material and financial resources as intensively as possible and the only way the national economy can enhance its ability to progress.

As we know socialist production and reproduction are governed by objective laws, so that economic effectiveness can be obtained only by observing those laws. Instances of voluntarism and subjectivism cannot solve the problems of effectiveness, even if they can create such illusions for a shorter or longer period of time. This makes it even clearer that the ideas and tendencies, which still appear at times, to make production profitable and effective by setting prices higher than the social values of the respective commodities are wrong in theory and very harmful from the practical and economic standpoints. Separating prices from value disrupts the functions of prices as levers of the economic-financial mechanism, causes socioeconomic discrepancies and inequities, and retards growth and development of social production.

But all these facts must be perceived in depth by all members of socialist society. As an objective necessity, every member of society, in his capacity as an owner of public property, an associate socialist producer, an organizer and manager of the production process, and a beneficiary of the results of common labor, must have an advanced culture, thinking and economic spirit and an advanced economic awareness. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The worker, engineer,

technician and all personnel in any sector, as well as the researcher, scholar, physician and professor must think with an economic spirit and a sense of responsibility for the national wealth and for the general development of the Romanian socialist nation."

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CSO: 2700/173

SERBIAN LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETS

Milenko Markovic's Introductory Report

LD231650 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0759 GMT 22 Apr 87

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 22 April (TANJUG)--The Serbian LC's current tasks in the ideological struggle for socialist self-management are the main topic on the agenda of today's session of the Serbian LC Central Committee. An introductory report was submitted by Milenko Markovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium. The session and the debate that will follow the introductory report are the Serbian LC Central Committee's contribution to efforts to establish the LCY's united stand in the struggle for the development of socialist self-management and socialist democracy, the issue to be discussed shortly by the LCY Central Committee as well.

The agenda for today's session also includes the adoption of a program marking the anniversary of Josip Broz Tito's accession to the office of the head of the Yugoslav Communist Party. The Serbian LC Central Committee will also draw up an orientation program for its work over the next 12 months. A resolution will be adopted on the need for the membership in the republic's organs, organizations, and communities constantly to organize themselves for action. The Serbian LC Central Committee will also today adopt a decision providing for the establishment, organization, and tasks of the Serbian LC Central Committee's Specialists' Office. The council and director of the Serbian LC Marxist Center will also be appointed today and a number of financial matters discussed.

A faster and concrete implementation of the positive program for emerging from the crisis and unambiguous opposition to all ideological and political opponents are key tasks facing the LC at the present social juncture. The program "for" and the struggle "against" are an entity and we must not allow one to cancel out the other, especially as the implementation of the positive program in all areas of social life is a prerequisite for successful confrontation with antisocialist forces.

This was stressed by Milenko Markovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee presidium, in his introductory report at the session.

The causes of sluggishness and inconsistency in implementing the congress stances and commitments, Markovic said, should be searched for in the

inadequate unity among party ranks and in the efforts by those, within the LC and from outside, whom the necessary social changes do not suit to protect their interests. To renew ideological dilemmas, indecision, and even disagreements over issues on which standpoints have already been taken is, according to him, inadmissible at the stage when utmost efforts must be invested to tackle and implement the issues as their absence creates scope for the activity of nationalist forces in particular.

Our international difficulties have become a subject of intense interest to the public abroad, Markovic stressed, adding that various speculation is being put forward about the possibility of Yugoslavia abandoning its independent and nonaligned position in international relations. Pressures are also being made designed to destabilize the country. For this reason, Markovic said, only the consistent implementation of the long-term stabilization program and the development of socialist self-managing democracy will enable us to maintain the reputation Yugoslavia has gained by pursuing its own independent socialist path.

[Transmission interrupted, Tanjug takes 3 and 4 not received]

We in the League of Communists, Markovic stressed, must work toward removing all dilemmas over and one-sided approaches to the policy of nationalities, because we do not seem to be able to make a clear distinction between the national and the nationalist, between statism and etatism. Not enough effort is made to differentiate unity and togetherness on a self-management basis from centralism and unitarism. To this end, Markovic emphasized, the Serbian LC will always fight for the cultural emancipation and development of all nations and nationalities with respect for all the specific features of their national identity, and will advocate a creation on that basis of unique Yugoslav socialist values.

The fact that the reactionary messages from the memorandum were convincingly disputed on the public scene means that only one aspect of the task facing the LC and other progressive forces has been carried out; the communists in the academy still have the deputy critically to consider opportunism in their own ranks, which became evident at the academy's extraordinary session. By the same token, Markovic continued, the Association of Serbian Writers is not and will not be allowed to be an institution comprising those who disregard the program and policy of the SAWP, whose collective membership includes the association. By forming the so-called Committee for Safeguarding Artistic Freedoms, the association--or rather a small number of its members--has displayed an ambition to assume the role of society's arbiter. These and similar activities under the aegis of the Association of Serbian Writers must, therefore, be constantly combatted. The founders of the so-called Solidarity Fund have also indulged in a special kind of political camouflage by trying to create conditions for political activity outside legally recognized social institutions.

Despite the fact that the majority of journalist members of the LC have condemned this form of political activity, in some editorial boards, Markovic said, opportunism, ideological dilemmas, and lack of unity are still discernible.

Some intellectual and even journalistic circles have been advocating the idea of an ideologically neutral press. This idea has lately been used to question our entire system. Markovic warned that the communists in some newspapers (NIN, SVET, INTERVJU) were almost ignoring justified public criticism of some articles which appear in their organs, while the communists at DUGA had for some time behaved in a protectionist manner. Some aspects of the editorial policy pursued by KNJIZEVNE NOVINE and KNJIZEVNA REC, he stressed, reflect an obvious affinity with opposite views and personalities who advocate them.

Concluding the introductory report, Markovic stressed the need for changes inside the LC itself to enhance its unity and the role of the party's rank-and-file. In addition, if the ideological struggle is to be successful, it is of vital importance that the LC works toward destroying the factional blockade of the socialist alliance and stimulating confrontation of views and wide-ranging social dialogue about all open issues from socialist positions.

Because of a great number of those who have asked to speak, the debate at the Serbian LC Central Committee's "ideological plenary session" is planned to last until 1800 today and will probably continue tomorrow.

Why do the documents for the LCY Central Committee's ideological plenary session repeat, for umpteenth time, the fundamental commitments to market economy, to economic laws, Borisav Jovic asked, adding that obviously not enough unity has been reached within the LC in regard to these issues and that there still exist opposing views at various levels, and even resistance to these orientations.

According to Jovic the resistance is not to be found in the LCY leaderships alone. There is resistance everywhere, in all environments and at all levels. Realistic economic categories are supported in words only, while in practice they are met with strong resistance especially in relations to real interest rates.

At the very beginning of the debate at today's session, it was clear that there were a large number of differing views about the coming changes in the political system. Marijana Pajvancic stressed that at the 13th LCY Congress, clearly-defined and principled standpoints had been assumed over the reasons why the constitutional changes need to be made, what their objectives were, and which directions they would take. We therefore have no right, she stressed, to approve of views to the effect that the proposed changes are allegedly merely cosmetic and not sufficiently radical.

Dragisa Pavlovic's contribution to the debate was characterized by strikingly different points. During the public debate on the constitutional changes, he noted the LC should not decide in advance how far the changes could go. Otherwise, we shall not get far, Pavlovic said. Can a constitution or a law be written that would be applicable forever, he asked, saying that his question was prompted by the widespread view that there must be no change in the fundamental provisions of the Constitution, but only in a limited number of provisions from its normative section?

How do we know, in advance, that absolutely nothing should be changed or amended in the Constitution's fundamental provisions, Pavlovic asked? Is, for instance, the volume of common Yugoslav interests going to increase, decrease, or be constant? If we have no answer to these questions to suit our present time and situation, nationalists will be given the opportunity to manipulate with fictitious differences and dogmatists with imaginary similarities.

[Break in transmission, TANJUG take 9 not received]

The efficiency of positive changes in our economy to a great extent also depends on the ideological and political unity in the LC, Ljubisa Vagner said in the afternoon part of the session. In order that workers can take on responsibility for the economic situation, it must be made possible for them to make essential decisions on the surplus value they produce. The state's role must be reduced to creating and implementing measures of the economic policy and should not include making decisions on what and for what the funds of associated labor would be used.

Can the feeling of solidarity with the Serbian and Montenegrin nations in Kosovo, or the feeling of solidarity with honest Albanians who are opposed to separatists in fact be equalized with nationalism? For a number of years, Dragomir Draskovic stressed, the dignity of the most populous nation in the country has been undermined. Are we aware of what it could produce and to what kind of temptations it could lead? How much have we organized ourselves to avoid such temptations, so that they are not brought about, Draskovic asked?

Economic and political crisis today is again opening up the problems of socialist democracy and this is certainly not accidental. Balsa Spadijer believes, because the only way out of the crisis, together with ensuring the continuity of the revolution and the development of socialist self-management, is precisely in realizing socialist democracy.

Because the economic crisis has today transferred itself into the sphere of the political system, a condition for a way out of the crisis is also a solution in the political arena. In this context, Spadijer stressed that the condition for strengthening socialist democracy--though not the only one--is to introduce direct--that is secret--elections with open lists.

Djoko Stojcic believes that the LC can carry out its commitments only in alliance with all well-intentioned people in our society, with those who think critically, and not with those who glorify bureaucracy and praise everything that exists.

Provoslav Ralic used a long part of his speech to recall the beginnings of our revolution.

Other participants in today's discussion were: Katica Hedrih, Dusan Ckrebic, Sveta Stojakov, Zivorad Minovic, Mihajlo Milojevic, Slobodan Vukovic, Obrad Pejjanovic, Ljubica Dimitrijevic, Vera Petakovic, Dusan Ilic, Milica Dejanovic, Dusan Catovic, Borislav Radovic, Milomir Petrovic, and Zoran Matkovic.

The session continues tomorrow afternoon.

Milosevic Addresses Party Debate

LD242002 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2230 GMT 23 Apr 87

[Text] Belgrade, 23 April (TANJUG)--"This plenum of the League of Communists of Serbia (LCS) Central Committee," LCS Presidency President Slobodan Milosevic set out, concluding a two-day debate in which 57 LCS Central Committee members took part, "Is an important step toward ideological unity in the LCS and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia."

The ability of the League of Communists to critically consider social problems, but also weaknesses in its own ranks, was strongly manifested in the debate on the tasks of communists in the ideological struggle for socialist self-management, Milosevic said.

Speaking on the programme for weathering the several-year crisis, Milosevic said that the commitment to economic laws and market was no concession to capitalist production or departure from socialism and self-management. On the contrary, he specified, the market is an indispensable pre-requisite for the re-affirmation of social ownership as the optimal form of ownership, and also the way for socialism to express itself as a society which is not necessarily poor, because if so it has no historical chance.

As regards the forthcoming changes in the political system, Slobodan Milosevic said that they are to re-establish the disturbed unity of Yugoslavia, whose self-governing states are being "mocked at even by children."

Noting that despite clear starting points of a programme aimed at weathering the crisis--the long-term programme of economic stabilization--a uniform realization of these commitments is lacking, Milosevic warned and went on to say that there is no room in the League of Communists for opposite views concerning the character of social relations. Rallying under the aegis of the party people with diametrically opposite ideological and political aspirations questions the party's essential characteristics and goals.

Also, Milosevic pointed out that in the presence of different ideological roots of dogmatism, which obstruct the necessary changes,, delimitation was necessary.

In today's debate, University Professor Dr Rados Smiljkovic voiced opposition to prior negative definitions of some spontaneous initiatives, because "no one has the right to prevent workers and citizens from using the most appropriate means within the system as defence against oppression and injustice."

Speakers in the debate pointed to the problem of disunity within the leading structures of society, stressing that ideological differentiation in leaderships is one of the vital conditions for creating unity in the league of communists, and, as generally asserted by the participants in the plenum, essential for overcoming the crisis.

Ckrebic, Bajram Gasi Comment

AU021741 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Apr 87 pp 6, 7

[Unnamed team of POLITIKA correspondents report on the debate at the Serbian LC Central Committee session held in Belgrade on 22 April]

[Excerpts] Taking part in the debate, Dusan Ckrebic said that our overall economic life has found itself on a slope and that it is more or less still there. He added that hesitation in implementing the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program strictly, as well as expectations that the way out of the economic crisis may be found in a sort of minimal realization of the program, have contributed to this situation.

Speaking about our social reality, Ckrebic then said that "...the failure to respect the market, the policy of easy loans and cheap money, as well as neglecting real economic categories have deformed our consciousness, brought it out of the sphere of reality, and made voluntarist behavior a habit. All this has radically affected the structure of our economy, making it unprepared for foreign markets despite great investments during recent decades."

Continuing the thought, Ckrebic then said that the policy of cheap money and neglecting the function of interest rates in our economic system have destimulated work organizations' efforts to earmark their resources for accumulation and working capital and have made them resort to grabbing for credits. Following the same logic, a great deal of dinar savings were transferred into foreign currency savings whenever that was possible, because that was the only way to ensure and retain the real value of one's money.

In spite of being aware of all this, there is still some championing of those and similar solutions, Ckrebic continued, only with different explanations. The shadows of the so-called agreed economy [dogovorna ekonomija] are still noticeable, and they bring disbelief into measures for solving the crisis which were undertaken to date.

In our society there are some occurrences of disdaining the efforts which are exerted with a view to finding the way out of the crisis. Measures undertaken by the FEC and federal organs are also disdained. There are some irresponsible, I would even call them showy approaches and patronizing pretensions which crowd our already nervous space. Therefore, there is the topical question of how one is to divide the creative participation of the workers class and the people who are skilled in social jobs from heedless and irresponsible individuals who spread confusion and semi-knowledge.

Greater and organized activity on the further ideopolitical and action training and social and class strengthening of LC basic organizations and leadership is needed for the more successful realization of set tasks, Bajram Gasi said. He presented data which illustrates the results of activities to date. Positive results have been achieved in 14.4 percent of communal LC organizations which have strengthened their ranks with workers and farmers, while negative tendencies in the membership composition have been halted in 17 percent of them.

The number of LC members in the Serbian LC in 1986 as against 1985 was reduced by 2 percent overall, that is 2.3 percent lower [presumably in Serbia proper]; in the Vojvodina LC 3.1 percent lower; while in the Kosovo LC it is 1.7 percent higher. The LC of Serbia admitted 11,353 members, expelled 1,737, while 13,962 were taken off the list or left the party of their own accord. According to Gasi, 75 percent of LC organizations did not admit new members. This data points to the need to make the activity of the LC basic organizations more organized and active with a view to halting negative tendencies, Bajram Gasi said among other things.

/12913

CSO: 2800/226

SAWPY FEDERAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

LD210933 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1006 GMT 20 May 67

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 20 May (TANJUG)—Open questions of stabilization, the main working subject of today's session of the SAWPY Federal Conference, provoked a broad debate, in which not one essential factor giving rise to the economic and social crisis was overlooked. [Transmission interrupted, remainder of Tanjug take one not received]

In enumerating the misfortunes in economic life and social difficulties and in depicting the economic trends not in accordance with this year's economic resolution the participants in the debate to some extent questioned official reports on economic trends. They considered, as Marinko Bralic, did, that there is exaggerated optimism in the information from the FEC. In order to achieve the long-standing task of relieving the economy, as Velimir Radivojevic noted, we should specifically indicate once and for all in which sectors of joint expenditure and with what consequences outgoings can be "cut."

However, there are also indications of the danger of sowing the illusion, as expressed by Mirko Ostojic, to the effect that problems can be solved in the FEC office alone. This should also be done in the branches of the Socialist Alliance, the basic organizations of associated labor, and other environments. Ostojic also noted two open directions that should be clarified: the market economy and self-managing democracy. Here, as well as in the more rapid development of small businesses and joint investments with foreigners, we must rid ourselves of accumulated dogmatism.

Inflation and the many factors that affect it were the sole subject of the speech by FEC President Branko Mikulic. He noted that we should speak out quite specifically and without prevarication on inflation, after many years of perpetuating an inflationary way of carrying out economic activities and inflation to life in such conditions. Theoretically we have said what we want it, and verbally we have often called for it to be brought under control. However, the final result has been negative. Inflation is continuing to grow, Mikulic said.

Structural imbalance in the economy, foreign debts and dubious internal accounts cannot be removed in the short term, but we should ask ourselves, Mikulic stressed, what we can do about the other causes of inflation.

Mentioning the role of the subjective factor, he stressed that with the agreement of all we can and must succeed in overcoming inflation, naturally with well-organized work and the consistent implementation of adopted policies and measures. However, there is still too little will and specific activity in this direction.

Having recalled that state regulation of the market has been in effect for several decades, which has resulted in price disparities between individual branches and activities, Mikulic turned his attention to the decision to remove the disparities gradually. This, quite naturally, affects the growth of certain prices and this has been taken into account. However, in this country what happens is that the removal of disparities causes an almost equal rise in prices of all products. Thus, instead of removing disparities, the discrepancy in prices is restored, but at a higher level. Here almost everyone makes use of every opportunity to increase prices. Mikulic warned that this cannot last long because demand will decline, and with its prices, so that in new circumstances only those who operate efficiently will prosper.

It is well-known, Mikulic continued, that improving the efficiency of economic activity is the real cure for removing inflation, particularly when it is price-related. He mentioned that reserves in the utilization of capacities are enormous. The degree of utilization of capacities in 1985 amounted to only 63 percent. Productivity is three to four times lower than in developed countries, about one half of annual production is "frozen" in stocks, transportation costs and energy consumption per unit of production are considerably higher in our economy than in other industrial countries, and so forth.

Mikulic spoke at greater length about expenditure. In comparison with the same period last year allocations for general and joint expenditure in the first quarter of this year were up by 114 percent, which is 6.6 percentage points higher than the established level. Only the federation had receipts below the permitted level, by 2.3 percent. It is a logical conclusion that this should be examined and that appropriate measures should be taken where there has been a breach in expenditure, that is in the republics and provinces [transmission interrupted, remainder of Tanjug take four not received].

Mikulic recalled that the participation of industry in disposable income last year was reduced to a mere 47.3 percent, and this is 15.6 points lower than in the not-so-distant 1981. With such low participation of industry in the distribution of income we cannot achieve a republic of associated labor [as received].

Speaking about personal incomes, Mikulic stated firstly that in 1986 they were increased nominally by 109, but in real terms by 10 percent. Their growth continued this year, so that in the first 2 months, in comparison with the same period last year, it amounted to 112 percent. In contradiction to the orientations of the resolution, this trend is above the rate of labor productivity. Following the application of the intervention law, the growth of personal incomes is gradually slowing down. Thus in the period from January to March their growth, in comparison with the same period last year, was reduced to 104 percent.

Bearing in mind that personal incomes, as Mikulic stressed, have an approximately 30 percent share in the social production, there is no doubt that they affect the growth of inflation, if they do not rise in keeping with labor productivity. The share of total personal expenditure in the social production amounts to about 50 percent. In this is concealed the other part of personal consumption which is beyond the appropriate social control and which represents a significant source of demand with a powerful inflationary effect. With the introduction and consistent application of an appropriate taxation system there can be effective limitation of this part of personal consumption and the realization of important income for the sociopolitical community, which can be used among other things for financing education, culture, health and other activities, within the competence of the republics, provinces and municipalities, and so solutions should be sought there.

In investment consumption, according to Mikulic, tendencies contrary to the aims of the resolution have become evident. In the first two months of this year nonproductive investments were up by 94.4 percent, and investments in the economy by 84.3 percent in comparison with the same period last year. Here too, decisions were largely made by the republics and provinces, municipalities and cities. With the effect of the intervention law, the growth in nonproductive investments was reduced to 58.8 percent in the first quarter, while investment in the economy progressed to 89.5 percent.

The decision to limit the money supply and disposal of credits by the commercial banks, on which a great deal of criticism was directed at the FEC, has resulted in a slower growth in the money supply in relation to the increase of the nominal social product. Nevertheless, Mikulic said, we cannot be satisfied with the implementation of the credit-monetary policy, because the money supply and bank credits are continuing to keep pace with inflation, instead of more determinedly achieving its reduction. He warned in particular about irregular money issue, which appears in our practice, since commitments to domestic creditors are not met.

The REC president also noted the extremely unfavorable distribution of the money supply. In the economy the money supply has been reduced by 3.2 percent in comparison with last December. On the other hand, with the exception of the Federation, the money supply in other sociopolitical communities, self-managing interest communities, noneconomic activities, and among the population has increased. Thus, the money supply is being directed into sectors outside of the economy. Decisions on this have been made independently by the commercial banks, maybe with the "blessing" of certain factors in the sociopolitical communities. The organs in the Federation could have no influence over this. What they were able to do, they did. That is, the money supply in the Federation in the first quarter of this year was 3.1 percent lower than last December.

Mikulic also reported on the FEC decision to engage a team of experts to propose a complete plan for the development of the financial system and monetary planning, because this question has been left undeveloped even in the long-term economic stabilization program.

It is often noted, Mikulic said, that our inflation is structural, price-related, psychological and the inflation of demand. It appears that we should add to this that it is also inflamed by political factors, so that it could, conditionally, be said that it is political. It is a question of efforts to value as high as possible "one's own" product on the Yugoslav market, to grab as much as possible for one's own sociopolitical community. At meetings inflation is condemned, but secretly messages are sent to organizations on the territory of one's own sociopolitical community to raise prices.

In connection with yesterday's decision to correct the prices of oil, derivatives and gas, Mikulic noted that the FEC had analyzed the demands of the oil industry for almost a month. The adjustment was decided on because of the large differences between the prices of derivatives in Yugoslavia and those in some neighboring countries, because a significant part of income was being siphoned off abroad, and about two thirds of our oil is imported. The experience of the first and second oil crisis has taught us the serious consequences of differences between our prices and the prices of derivatives in other countries and of maintaining high domestic demand at unrealistic energy prices.

In the area of price policies, Mikulic announced the possibility of prices of a greater number of agricultural products being formed according to market conditions. The FEC has decided that the prices of highest class meat should be freely formed. He also warned that the application of measures of direct control of prices for certain products is not ruled out as a possibility.

Stagnation in development is the greatest danger for the prosperity of socialist self-management, for the social and political stability in the country, and in the final analysis for our independence. Stressing this, Mikulic analyzed at greater length the possibilities of securing funds for further development. He noted that 11.4 percent of the social product was taken up by repayment of the principal of the foreign debt and interest last year, and this year approximately 10 percent will go to this end. In connection with these data, Mikulic recalled the earlier decision to reduce the amount of the principal of the foreign debt by approximately \$3 billion in the current medium-term period. The recent speech in the assembly by the president of the SFRY Presidency stated that we should reexamine our decision on reducing the absolute amount of the foreign debt. The FEC will prepare relevant analyses for a debate on this problem and will present its proposals in line with this demand, Mikulic added.

In the context of securing funds for development the FEC according to its president, considers that far more attention be paid to joint investment with foreign partners. He recalled the January meeting with a group of Yugoslavs employed abroad and said that several agreements on the investment of the personal funds of these workers in domestic organizations have already been concluded, and there are several other initiatives, Mikulic stressed in conclusion.

The elimination of inflation is the priority above all priorities and everything should be subordinated to this end, Joze Smole considers, recalling that the FEC policy is anti-inflationary in direction. There should, however,

be criticism of the fact that in the measures taken and envisaged not all the centers of inflations have been tackled. Smole noted in particular that the money issue must be reduced to realistic levels.

The appropriate social climate for the struggle against inflation has still not been created in the Socialist Alliance, Smole added, suggesting that the SAWPY should find a slogan which could serve to create such a climate.

Speaking about debt rescheduling, Smole complained that our public receives virtually no information about this, and he asked whether we have realized that we should pursue rather different tactics and seek the postponement of repayment of the foreign debt? Many countries, which are overindebted, have achieved this. We need a breathing space. We cannot endure the burden of repayment of the principle of the debt, and it would be a good idea if we activate the factor of openness [javnost] here.

Within the framework of constitutional changes it should be envisaged, Smole suggests, that the SAWPY Federal Conference president should also be in the SFRY Presidency ex officio, just as the LCY Central Committee president [word indistinct], also ex officio.

Turning to the influence of the Socialist Alliance at federal level, of which he said that it is too small, Smole said that he is not directing criticism at anyone, but he recalled one example, which in his view gives a sufficient illustration of the attitude of certain federal organs toward the Socialist Alliance. He was talking about the long-awaited report on the situation in penal and remand institutions which the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium called for last July. If the LCY Central Committee Presidium had asked for this, Smole remarked, the federal organ would have reacted immediately.

In the debate, which was sharp in tone, Vanco Nikolovski ascribed the failure to realize the long-term economic stabilization program to lack of responsibility among leading people in all structures and at all levels. This is why he called for the democratization of the cadre policy. In Nikolovski's view, there can be no stabilization without curbing inflation. This, however, cannot be achieved by a game of freezing and unfreezing prices, but by a calculated and comprehensive economic policy.

In present-day societies, Nenad Bucin said, when inflation exceeds 100 percent, this is seen as the greatest danger not only to the national economy, but also to society as a whole. Thus, for example, in the countries with market economies everyone fights fiercely against inflation--the government, the working class, the bourgeoisie. According to Bucin, in Yugoslavia this is not so.

If we were to study what is said and written in the statements from sessions of the SFRY Presidency, the LCY Central Committee, the SFRY Assembly, the federal conferences and the FEC we would get the impression that inflation in Yugoslavia is no more than 10-15 percent. Inflation and its eradication should be given far more importance than it has been to date. Our way out must be in the constant reduction of the prices of goods as a precondition for

continual progress, and not in the prevailing philosophy of competing in increasingly "crazy" price increases, Bucin warned.

In the last four years since the adoption of the long-term stabilization program there have been attempts at changing the economic system. Many laws and other regulations, and their changes and amendments, have been adopted. Inflation, however, continues to flourish, Dragoje Zarkovic stressed, and social tensions are growing. It is clear, Zarkovic opined, that changes in the economic system are impossible without undertakings in the political system as well, and in this there is hesitation, and so there are delays.

The orientation toward a market economy has also remained half achieved. In this respect much was expected of the recent ideological plenum, but unfortunately there are no results yet. If we are for a market economy, Zarkovic stressed, it cannot operate without a complete market mechanism, and on this we have enormous ideological differences.

Following the debate, in which there were 20 participants, the federal conference approved with certain comments the conclusions proposed by the working group. In seven fairly concise points the immediate tasks of the Socialist Alliance in the realization of socioeconomic development this year are outlined. The emphasis is on the implementation of anti-inflationary policies adopted earlier, and the FEC is called on to prepare a complete and coordinated program of economic measures for reducing inflation.

The conclusions do not rule out the decision to the effect that new economic and systemic solutions should be applied fully and in a synchronized way, rounding off the first phase in the implementation of the long-term economic stabilization program. It is clearly stated that we should put a determined end to the socialization of losses and consistently apply the regulations on the recovery and liquidation of organizations that are operating badly.

The conclusions devote particular attention to more efficient economic activity and do not avoid mentioning the strengthening of work discipline and sanctions for violating the rules of behavior in work organizations. The strengthening of the competitive ability of our economy and in particular the better operation of our export economy are stressed as one of the preconditions for a way out of the crisis. At the same time additional measures for stimulating exports are called for. Exceptional importance is also attached to reducing general and joint expenditure to within the framework of available possibilities.

In the political section of the conclusions there is mention of the need for the more rapid liberalization of the Socialist Alliance organizations in relations to the state organs. In particular the development of the Socialist Alliance control function is stressed, implying that the exponents of social

control should be the working people and citizens themselves who have the greatest direct interest in strengthening the accountability of the holders of public posts.

The SAWPY Federal Conference also confirmed today the election of Zlatica Nastic as a new member of the presidium, in her capacity as delegate of the Serbian SWAWP republican conference, instead of Zivan Vasiljevic whose mandate has expired.

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CSO: 2800/226

JOVICIC ADDRESSES LCY CC PLENUM

AU201825 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2495, 7 May 87, p 3

[Report on the speech Georgije Jovicic, president of the LC organization in the SFRY Army, made at the Seventh Plenum of the LCY Central Committee on 28 April in Belgrade]

[Text] Having mentioned that our society and the LCY are faced with tremendous difficulties, Georgije Jovicic said: "Considering that the All People's Defense and our armed forces are being built as an integral part of the system of socialist self-management, it is understandable that economic, ideological, political, and other trends (both positive and negative) also affect them, their conscience and behavior. Our assessments show that both the successful election of delegates and the results of the 13th LCY Congress at which the ideas and values of the course of Tito's revolution were strongly confirmed, positively influenced the moral and political situation and ideological trends in the armed forces last year. The efforts of our society and the FEC and other organs to reaffirm the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program, halt negative economic trends, and replace the long present indeciveness with specific measures and actions also had positive results." Jovicic also mentioned some other factors which had positive effects on the moral and political situation in the armed forces and added:

"But at the same time, the orale, ideopolitical unity, and conscience of the members of the armed forces were also exposed to many negative factors which recently became more and more prominent. This above all refers to the continuation and even deepening of the economic crisis, enormous increase in inflation, and uncontrolled prices which have serious political and social implications, it refers to the prolongation of intranational conflicts in Kosovo and the revival of some problems in connection with achieving unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia and the functioning of the political system in general, it refers to a strong expansion of unacceptable ideological tendencies and a fairly wide spread practice of an opportunistic-liberalistic way of retreating before the offensive of nationalists, bourgeois right, and other anti-socialist forces....

Utopian and Unrealistic Concept of Defense

"In that context the phenomena of spreading defeatism, utopian and unrealistic concepts of war and defense, and distorting the essence of the concept of the All People's Defense and the place and role of the armed forces, and above all, the place and role of the Yugoslav People's Army in our society, are occurring increasingly frequently."

"The aims and intentions of our enemy are clear to us, but what we do not understand is the fact that there are dilemmas and unacceptable kinds of behavior regarding these strategic matters among the communists themselves, and that certain circles are almost sympathetic with this kind of dangerous and transparent campaign although it is obvious that this too is contributing toward ideological disorientation in society and that it adversely affects the conscience and behavior of some working people and citizens, above all young generations. At the worst, it adversely affects our security and even the international reputation of our country."

Comrade Jovicic spoke then about the situation in the LCY after the 13th LCY Congress pointing out that it appears that the causes for negative social processes and their consequences are not known sufficiently, and that the LCY is not showing "sufficient capability, persistence, and even will to, through well thought out, systematic work and sound measures in the field of economy and building up of the system, cut short numerous uncontrolled tendencies and turn social processes toward more favorable, positive direction." Then he said:

"The LC and our country's leadership must learn a lesson from all this and from the fact that a great part of the population, particularly those who really live from their work, most often criticize the LCY and the top leadership for this situation and blame them for irresponsibility, indecisiveness, opportunism, inefficiency, and the discrepancy between the good strategic tenets and the real course of social life. In connection with this, and not without reason, a request is being increasingly often made for improving the democratization of the electoral system in order to enable the electorate to directly elect a leadership, or if necessary replace it."

Reaffirming Yugoslav Profile of Our Party

"It is obvious that one must reaffirm the Yugoslav profile of our party which was also the intention of amendments to the LCY Statute at the 13th LCY Congress. Current divisions, which are also present in the LCY itself, are weakening the LCY power and influence and degrade its vanguard and cohesive role. Democratic centralism as the LCY's life principle of organizing and working, has not started to live yet. It is high time to break with various quasi-philosophical outwitting and denials of the content and essence of this principle on which, according to the statute, internal relations, unity, and the LCY's effective work are based."

"Our revolution needs today a stronger, more aggressive, and more united LC. It needs communists who firmly believe in the original tenets of our communist movement, in tenets which reproduce strength rather than crises."

"The development of events shows that the gap between the increased requirement for realizing the unity of economic, ideological, and [word indistinct] of Yugoslavia as a whole, on the one hand, and on the other hand the violent, anticivilizing favoring of partial interests, which in many spheres of life have gained the upper hand, has been widening to the utmost limits of toleration. The forthcoming changes of the Constitution and other measures concerning the system must resolve this strategic question and insure the stability and efficient functioning of all the institutions of the political system, including, of course, the federal organs..."

"Despite the complex situation and many economic changes, ideological dilemmas, and perplexities, the Communists in the Army, as an integral part of the LCY, are investing great efforts so that the Yugoslav People's Army may remain a firm support of our self-managing socialist society and the LCY in the struggle for freedom and independence and full socialist transformation. We may say that enough strength, will, and determination exists in the LCY in the Yugoslav People's Army, among its regular personnel, among the soldiers, among all the subjects of its building, for continuing the course of development and strengthening of the All People's Defense in conformity with the 13th LCY Congress decisions and for moving more resolutely toward a full realization of the comprehensive program of economic stabilization and embarking on an action to strengthen the LCY and to master all other problems so that we may get out of the crisis."

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KOSOVO VETERANS ASKED TO TELL TRUTH

AU012053 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 May 87 p 8

[Dj. Vranjesevic report: "Veterans Must Tell Truth"]

[Excerpts] Pristina, 19 May--At its session today, at which Desanka Kjordjevic was reelected president and Mirin Morina secretary, the Provincial Council of the Kosovo Veterans' Association reiterated the assessment made a long time ago that the main problem of the Kosovo Veterans' Association is the rapid emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from this area and that this is not only the problem of this province but of the whole country.

Bajram Seljani, president of the Kosovo Presidency, who also took part in the session said among other things that although many things have been done since 1981 toward stabilizing the situation in the province, the traces of the counterrevolution and nationalist behavior are still felt. He said that in magazines and other kinds of press one can often find articles with very compromising information about some local cadre, of all nationalities, Albanian, Serb, Montenegrin, and about their allegedly negative behavior during and after World War II.

"We do not talk about it which causes confusion in both Kosovo and Yugoslav public. Veterans must react by telling the truth, whatever it is, because they, as the participants in the war who know exactly what happened, are the most authoritative people. However, if untruths are told, they must be denied, and one must not keep silent about anything," said Seljani.

At the end of the session Desanka Kjordjevic said that the Veterans' Association must make clear assessment about all cases which the press has been writing about recently (Cazim Blaca and Hasan Rana-Zrza), and inform the public about it.

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CSO: 2800/226

NEWS PROGRAM ON KOSOVO INCIDENT 'SERIOUS FAILURE'

LD131825 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1628 GMT 13 May 87

[Text] Pristina, 13 May (TANJUG)--The LC basic organization of the information and political program of Pristina Television at today's meeting assessed that a report in the news program in Serbo-Croatian and the recent meeting in Kosovo Polje, was a serious failure. Discussions held at the Kosovo Polje meeting with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, which were shown in this news program, were chosen in such a way that the public got the impression that this was a gathering of nationalists. This report, as it was assessed, is one-sided and has negative implications.

While some of the members of this party organization demanded an answer to the question why a journalist of the Serbo-Croatian board was excluded from preparing a report on the meeting, their colleague from the Albanian language editorial board, Camilj Hasani, was of the opinion that the controversial program was not really "controversial." Some of the journalists from this editorial board also said that the "Television had not invented discussions with hostile undertones," or that "what was heard from those youths went on the screen." It was also said that the failure would have been bigger had there been presented only discussions of those people who spoke about realistic problems.

Journalists from the Serbian editorial board did not agree with such views.

Dragan Djikanovic, executive editor of the information program of the Serbian editorial board, who followed the vent but did not take part in making up the joint report, said that after he had already started preparing the report he had been told by the chief and executive editor that it would be done by colleagues from the Albanian editorial board and that this report would be broadcast in all three languages (Albanian, Serbo-Croatian, and Turkish). Most of the members of the LC basic organization of the information and political program see the cause of this omission in the bad organization of work and the absence of agreements, which is usual on television in cases of joint reporting with all editorial boards.

Cemalj Hasani, director general of Pristina Radio and television, assessed that this was not a matter of intention or imputation and that because of this

mistake, the orientation of responsible people in this information company should not be doubted.

It should also be recalled that the Program Board of Pristina television conveyed "criticism" to authors of the controversial report, Muhamed Mjeku and Nuho Bitici, and at today's party meeting the question was asked what sort of punishment it was.

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CSO: 2800/226

RIKANOVIC DISCUSSES PROTECTIONISM IN NETHERLANDS

LD202103 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1558 GMT 20 May 87

["Pool" item]

[Text] The Hague, 20 May (TANJUG)—Mounting protectionism in world trade hinders the development of the world economy, assessed the Netherlands and Yugoslavia's Finance Ministers Dr. Herman Ruding and Svetozar Rikanovic who is in the Netherlands at the invitation of Ruding.

Both ministers believe that if protectionist barriers persist, especially in the leading western industrial countries, economic relations as a whole will suffer grave consequences.

Ruding is chairman of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Temporary Committee and Rikanovic, as chairman of "group 24" of developing countries, informed him in detail about a proposal to form a mixed group of developing countries at the World Bank and the IMF to deal with solving the problem of world debts.

In view of the negotiations on refinancing Yugoslav foreign debts, currently underway in Paris with representatives of the creditors, Rikanovic pointed out the adverse consequences which a setback in the second phase of rescheduling Yugoslav debts has on its total foreign relations.

Commercial banks are awaiting the creditors governments' decisions, Rikanovic noted, underscoring that this hampers Yugoslavia—which regularly meets its foreign debt obligation—in overcoming its present economic difficulties.

The two ministers favourably assessed bilateral financial relations, having also examined cooperation in the framework of relations between Yugoslavia and the European Community. Beside a stagnation in overall relations, cooperation between Yugoslavia and the twelve is suffering from the unfavourable consequences of prolonged negotiations on financial cooperation, pointed out Rikanovic.

Yugoslav stands were met with understanding on the part of Ruding, Foreign Trade Minister Yvonne van Roy and Development Minister Piet Bukman with whom Rikanovic also met.

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CSO: 2800/226

SLOVENE YOUTH PRESIDUM ON YOUTH DAY FESTIVITIES

AU130831 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18-19 Apr 87 p 7

[Z. Medved report: "Ideologically Unacceptable Messages"]

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 17 April--After a tempestuous and very harsh debate, the Republican Conference Presidium of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation decided not to accept the proposed scenario for the final festivity of the Youth Day at the Yugoslav People's Army stadium.

Formulating the conclusions, Tone Anderlic, president of the Slovene Socialist Youth Republican Conference Presidium said that the scenario has been widely debated in Slovenia and that one was able to note that young people had decided for the previously adopted position that the final festivity should be replaced by suitable Yugoslav meetings of young people. The contents of those meetings would express young people's interests and would not be framed with ideological forms and reduced to only one day. Besides, it is not necessary that they be held in Belgrade.

Speaking about the scenario itself, Anderlic said that it is ideologically unacceptable, that its artistic level is extremely low, and that it offers messages which the Republican Conference Presidium of the Slovene Socialist Youth cannot accept at all. It presents the constitutional position of peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia in a cynical and mocking way. The young generation is aware of its responsibility for the development of the Yugoslav community, it has firmly decided to persevere in the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] tenets, and to follow Tito's messages about the fraternal togetherness of peoples and nationalities. Therefore, it cannot accept Yugoslavism through a unitarianist approach which is offered in the scenario.

The session in Ljubljana was attended by Milan Lazovic, secretary of the Federal Committee for Marking Youth Day, who tried to explain the concept of the Yugoslav meetings of young people and to inform the Presidium about changes in the scenario its authors had made. In doing so, he also said that

the sum of 10.7 billion old dinars has already been allocated from the Federal budget for all activities in Belgrade, but that this was not enough, and that additional 5-6 billions have already been requested from the FEC.

The Presidium concluded that at the next Federal Committee session one should demand official report on the funds spent last year and that the same report should be demanded after this year's festivity too.

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CSO: 2800/226

SFRY STUDENT'S PRACTICUM IN JAPAN REJECTED

LD201235 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0023 GMT 29 May 87

[Quotation Marks as Received; by Dragan Milenkovic]

[Text] Belgrade, 29 May (TANJUG)—On account of his father, a diplomat official, Dragan Majetic (23), a post-graduate at the Belgrade University School of Economics, has been round the world since his birth. Born in New Delhi, he attended the primary school and the two years of the secondary school in Tokyo and went for a three-month practice period in Vancouver, Canada, after graduating from Belgrade University. This summer, he was to go to Japan again.

Dragan's yearlong practice at the Ines computer firm had been arranged through the International Association of Students in Economics and Management (AIESEC), an organisation promoting the exchange of economics students. Dragan fulfilled all the conditions and the date had already been fixed when he received a disappointing telex message stating: "The practice contract is cancelled, do not come."

The packed suitcases will remain in the cupboard, the messages to friends and would-be collaborators in Japan have been dispatched in vain. These days, Dragan simply does not know what to do with himself. He had passed all essential examinations to ensure a year of breathing space and had turned down several lucrative commissions in Yugoslavia which would enhance his scholarship (awarded to the best students only). Since all exchange arrangements through the AIESEC for the year are over, Dragan will have to wait until next year to try some other country.

What disappointed Dragan most was the reason for the rejection of his application.

"In recent time, a number of cases of information drain have been discovered in Japan, owing to this many firms manufacturing computers contacts with people from the eastern bloc. You are only one of those who will be affected by this...", the telex undersigned by an official of the Japanese AIESEC branch, Hiroko, said.

"I cannot understand this and I made this clear in my reply to the Japanese AIESEC branch," Dragan Majetic says. "I told them I was at a loss to understand that they could say that about a country which broke away from the eastern bloc as far back as 1948, a leading country in the Non-Aligned Movement, the country which their visiting Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone said he respected for its neutrality and friendliness towards Japan. I wrote to them that on the very day their telex arrived the largest Japanese financial-trade delegation in Dubrovnik concluded that an increase in the exchange of commodities and people between Yugoslavia and Japan was necessary."

"But the most absurd thing of all was that members of the Japanese delegation in Dubrovnik promised to improve the conditions for the specialisation of Yugoslav experts in Japan. Obviously, the communication between those making promises and people carrying them is not perfect in Japan either," Majetic says.

"We were taken aback to say the least," says Miodrag Mitic, president of the Belgrade AIESEC branch. "Dragan Majetic is the last man to turn down. Besides having top marks at university, he has an excellent command of Japanese, English and French and is one of the few economics students in the world capable of meeting the strict Japanese requisites."

As a member of the AIESEC, Japan is far from generous. It awards up to 60 practical training opportunities a year whereas Yugoslavia, for instance, granted such opportunities to more than 230 foreign students last year, Mitic says.

Although Yugoslavia's relationship with Japan is invariably described as highly cordial, and in spite of the prestige Yugoslav President Tito enjoyed in that country, Japanese are obviously finding it difficult to rid themselves of prejudices towards Yugoslavia as a socialist country. The Japanese, namely, regard socialist countries, wherever these may be, in the context of their none-too-cordial relations with the Soviet Union.

However absurd it may sound, the picture of Yugoslavia in the mind of the ordinary Japanese is also a result of the attitudes of the various government departments in Tokyo. Nakasone said during the January visit that he was pleased to be visiting neutral and non-aligned Yugoslavia, but his entourage included Foreign Ministry officials in charge of East European affairs. Officials from this department were also among the members of the last Japanese Government commercial delegation to visit Yugoslavia.

One naturally welcomes the intensification of ties between Japan, a western country, and Yugoslavia, a socialist but also a non-aligned and Mediterranean country and, as registered by the AIESEC, an independent one.

But the case of Dragan Majetic shows that there are still obstacles on this path that need clearing away.

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CSO: 2800/226

SATIRIC JIBES FROM UNIVERSITY PAPER

[Editorial Report] An unsigned regular column in Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian on 29 April 1987, page 2, offers several embittered comments on current issues, including the following:

1. DELO of Ljubljana writes on 17 April, "The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC CC presidium met recently and described the main advocates of antisocialist activities as located in the editorial boards of NON, STUDENT, TRIBUNA, MLADINA, KNJIZEVNA REC, NIN, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, NOVA REVIJA, DELO, and MLADOST." We express our thanks to the Bosnian communists for their compliment, and we pledge to remain on the side of all this country's progressive forces.

2. Yugoslavia, the country of the workers' triumph, has provided another in its series of original contributions to the international prestige of socialist self-management: its trade unions have come down on the side of authority and have opposed strikers' demands. We refer, of course, to the presidium of the Rijeka inter-opstina trade-union council and to the striking Labin miners.

For the information of foreign correspondents, who have shown themselves so often to be prejudiced: in our country, rule is in the hands of the workers!

3. The aforementioned presidium, at the meeting during which the Labin miners and their "method of extorting pay increases" were condemned, announced unanimously that "pay must derive from effort and earnings and can be raised only according to improvements in the results of work."

The fact that only persons employed in the federal government have recently been raising the results of their work is indicative of the bad overall situation in the country.

4. The increasingly severe Dusan Mitevic delivered a conspicuous speech at the 5th session of Serbia's LC CC. Among other things, he reflected on the effort to establish the "so-called" solidarity fund: "I personally was bothered by our...adhering to the formalistic logic of 'you signed so you cannot join the LCY.' Many comrades who sit on those editorial boards think the same way but failed to sign for various reasons. I think that we will have to look into that."

If enemies were first all those who "think that way and sign," and if we adhere to Comrade Mitevic's helpful monologue, enemies will soon become all those who "think that way."

By a simple process of eliminating extra words, you can easily foresee who our next enemy will be.

5. Serbia's Writers' Association has started a campaign to declare 6 April [anniversary of the German bombardment and destruction of the National Library in 1941] Burned Book Day.

We learn that the assigned readers from the public prosecutor's office will provide support for this proposal.

6. Only the committees for That [play on "ono"=demonstrative pronoun meaning "that" versus acronym ONO standing for "nationwide defense system"] still support This!

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CSO: 2800/227

CONTROVERSIAL ARTICLES FROM CONTESTED ISSUE OF UNIVERSITY PAPER

'Left-Right' Labeling

Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian 29 Apr 87 p 2

[Article by Stevan Schityarov: "Requiem for the 'Bourgeois Right': Better Ideas Always Triumph!"]

[Text] In combination with the term "political protagonist" the spatial determiners "left" and "right" are a phantom legacy of the rhetoric of the state of the ancien regime (or the restoration) to the social theory of modern times. While the grammatical esoterica of the first term has found its counterpart in the free citizen, the spatial relativity of political labels for those who in the French Assembly sat to the left of the president's desk, and those were the liberals, advocates of parliamentary and civil freedoms, and those who sat to the right, conservatives and representatives of monarchist authoritarianism, has in practice been instrumentalized as a crucial option in preservation of a government. This is especially characteristic of postrevolutionary societies in which extraeconomic coercion is again being introduced and where ideology is becoming a necessary and direct basis of rule.

One of the central points of socialist ideological practice is precisely the pinning on of the political labels "left" and "right," although the actual mechanism of identifying representatives of ideological "bias" does not have very many points of contact with the ideosphere. Since the official ideology is defined by the party and passed on by transmissive institutions, the authentic or true socialist viewpoint is already assumed, and does not even need to be named, but opponents are numerous, and they are given numerous pejorative labels. Since by the very structure of the socialist order the leading ideology coincides with the ideology of those who are ruling (those who are in power), and this is the state-party bureaucracy, only veerings to the right or left are named, and they are given a material correlative only when they receive the name. The trick with this kind of "production of enemies" does not lie in the fact that someone, say, becomes a neoliberal only when such a label is "pinned on," but in the fact that for the public he would become it if he were to refute or prove the untruthfulness of the label, since in this case he would have to refute the very position from which it was awarded, i.e., the party ideology, and thereby socialism as well. The effects achieved by this are dual: the organization of potential allies in activities which threaten

the system is prevented, and the political-ideological topology becomes the sole reality, especially since the real topology of the political forces is no longer determined according to substantive criteria, but according to principles of orthodoxy.

This kind of ideological scheme for political discreditation, which is based on the dialectical skill in reducing every phenomenon to a well-known parameter or mediating it to a level at which it can be brought under control, has proved to be successful in political terms, but not sufficiently convincing. Its rigidity derives from the a priori logic of the myth of government that is taken for granted and whose ideological language of domination is unable to lastingly portray the interest of those who hold the power as the interest of the entire society.

Political Liturgy

Since the ideological construct of self-management is always "a step further," in the political liturgy this is a step out of the inner logic of power to the logic of action, i.e., "expression of the plurality of self-management interests." Particularization (structured OOUR-ization) of the general interest has produced a new social situation in which both the "strategic commitments" and the "constellations of the political forces" belong to the same "microphysics of power," to use the language of Foucault. It is now possible to conceptualize it as a "large craft workshop producing specific historical forms of sociality," which by definition makes it more difficult to stabilize, renew, or expand the ideological structure which has used "the production of enemies" as the means of its own reproduction. Traditional political "identification" in the perspectivist environment of self-management delegate decisionmaking is always counterproductive; its effects either resound with the hollow ring of ideological metaphoricity, or they represent intellectual juggling with the unreal fossilized goals of programmatic documents. The reason for this is not the functioning of political discourse (if we stick with the Marxist premise taken from the tradition of idealism as to the correspondence between theory and practice), which blocks the process of examining "real" social relations and political constellations, but the very logic of self-management, which is ambivalent in its very definition.

At the regional level the counterproductivity of political "identification" is manifested in the connotative nonsense that occurs when the political ideology articulates the "hostile" point of view in its own discourse and instills its own meaning in it. We will use the example of the "bourgeois right" to demonstrate how that contradictory mechanism looks. More precisely, we are talking about the "forces" which have been upsetting a sacred cow of the political-security situation in which the correct self-management goals of stabilization and democratization which the political bureaucracy has set for itself are dominant. These "forces" advocate renewal of capitalist society in our economic-political system, they are demanding freedom for political organization, they are coming out in favor of a multiparty system, and they even favor the rule of law and a government based on law. These are anti-Communists, anti-Marxists, and class enemies, so that there is no dialogue with them, but we must have an uncompromising showdown with them.

Ideological committees hold meetings, they use conclusions and positions to achieve political mobilization of the masses. Not a day passes without some daily newspaper informing us of some new aspect of the strengthening of anti-communism. And although the campaign itself opens up a possibility for broad and democratic discussion, very little is known about the substantive determinants of this "ideological platform." The paradox is that the reason for this is that no one has as yet dealt in detail with what is really involved (since then all the talk would be pointless), but because it is not desirable for anything to be known about the views of the "bourgeois right"! And it is not desirable because we know quite well in advance what this is and what consequences it could have for the country! On the basis of the conclusion concerning the consequences, on the basis of the views of the government itself, the political-security situation is disinfected by the coordinated action of the government-party bureaucracy!?

What Do You Believe in?

One cannot even make a judgment as to how this meddling with the right will go, since the proposition of a "party right" has also emanated from the same sources, since a party "ideological plenum" has been held a few days ago at which Communists from Serbia presented the view that "those with differing commitments cannot stay together in the LC," while Communists from Slovenia expect the achievement of unity to be unrealistic and plead for an alternative on which the LC should concentrate....

However, now that we have set up here an analytical plane, we will attempt to find for what a Marxist analysis requires in a political context--Marxist analysis is suitable to this context precisely because it has become possible to communicate with the politocracy only in that kind of phraseology--to find the appropriate analytical paradigm in a theoretical approach which examines the social context in terms of symbols. It is in those terms of psychoanalysis that we find the distinction between the symptom and the fantasy. The patient who recites his dreams to the psychoanalyst is always happy to talk about his symptom, he takes pleasure in his own lapses, he laughs at the wittiness, while it is the fantasy that remains hidden, that is inaccessible to interpretation, the thing the patient is silent about. The mechanism of fetishistic evasion corresponds to the operation of fantasy at the level of social reality: "I know, but still...." A fetish is made of power in the sense that government authority is always something more than what it is represented to be: "I know (that we live in a democratic society), but I still believe (that the people in power stand apart)." The fantasy, the concealed traumatic core which is involved here, lies in the simple relation between knowledge and belief: anyone who knows what government authority is believes in the bourgeois right! And since this is possible only to those who are in power, it is not a question of "Who will win?" (the better ideas always triumph).

Incidentally, is the very question about ideas "left" or "right"? What do you know about that, and what do you believe?!

[Box]

What We Were Wondering...

"How much is the emergence of tendencies toward the organization of more than one party influenced by judgments to the effect that our LC is getting out of breath in carrying out its own policy, that it has not been up to the demands of the times, and how much is the emergence of this tendency influenced by other things? For example: The surplus value of labor and the eternal struggle over it by individuals and nationalities; the constitutional legitimacy of differentness and differing interests; the inner aspiration of particular interests to set themselves up either in the system or outside the system; the state of crisis and the spontaneous redistribution of the burden of stabilization; self-management's stagnation and loss of ground, our tardiness and irresponsible management of changes in the political and economic system, the passivity or inappropriate role and activity of the SAWP, the trade unions, the youth organization, and above all what is supposed to be our LC?" These are some of the questions which Dragisa Pavlovic, chairman of the Belgrade City Conference of the LC, posed at the "ideological plenum." Speaking about the "enemies" who were frequently mentioned at that plenum, Pavlovic observed: "In any case, I would not put down the organized activity of oppositionist forces in last place."

Dusan Mitevic also spoke about the role of "enemies" in our society: "There are certain strategies in the operation of our adversaries, and they are increasingly recognizable and visible. Since the destiny of socialism is at stake, they know that if they want to achieve their goals, they must destroy the League of Communists as the vanguard of the working class..." Mitevic, who is a member of the Presidium of the Belgrade City Committee of the LC responsible for ideology, thinks that "in the time to come we will have to enter into debate" even with those who have not committed a hostile act such as putting their names down for the "so-called" Solidarity Fund, indeed even with those who "think that way"!

At the end of the plenum it was observed that it represented an important step in the direction of ideological unity of the Serbian LC and the LCY.

However, what we were wondering is the origin of this much difference in views between two leaders of the city organization of the League of Communists? Comrade Mitevic's view of such an important phenomenon as the "enemy" differs utterly from the view of a majority of the speakers at that gathering, but also in the party plenums in other republics....

Anomalies of Nonaligned Policy

Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian 29 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Miroslav Visic: "Criticism of Global Policy"]

[Text] The founding principles on which our foreign policy is based are well known: nonalignment, nonintervention, and active peaceful coexistence. Moreover, whenever this privileged sphere of the activity of the state comes up

mention is made that it must be "socialized"; which is supposed to mean that all the working people and citizens take part in formulating and carrying out our "global policy." The assumption behind this declarative intention is removing the taboos and halo of untouchability from this important activity, which has vital importance to any state.

So far there has not been a critical attitude on the part of our public toward the strategic, nor indeed even operational moves made by our diplomacy. The bid to organize the last Summit Conference of the Nonaligned and the failure to win that vote of confidence and the consequences that arose therefrom for our country's relations with other countries, and then the unusually unarticulated condemnation of American aggression on Libya, along with certain other moves that had not been thought through, have led to the unanimous judgment that our reputation in the world, even among the nonaligned countries, has declined greatly. The reason for this does not lie solely in the disappearance of Josip Broz Tito from the scene, nor only the difficult economic situation in the country, nor indeed the large foreign debt....

So it is not only warranted, but indeed indispensable that there be a public discussion of our foreign policy. But not in the only way that has up to now been possible: through jokes and anecdotes, informally. Not in the form of true stories about our official spokesman who in a friendly African country kissed a uniformed chauffeur instead of the president, or about our representative who asked his host in a ministate without a standing army "when we will be reviewing the honor battalion," to which this prestidigitator responded by assembling all the firemen and police to form an "honor unit."... It is not the way to "socialize" foreign policy to tell caustic jokes (not true, of course!) about our guest from a friendly nonaligned country to whom hundreds of excited Pioneers waved flags and flowers, and in answer to the enthusiastic host as to whether he liked children, he answered: "Yes, with mustard!"

The SFRY Assembly is a place where our sociopolitical life has experienced a certain democratization, but at the same time a place where a fierce struggle is taking place to exercise formal rights and freedoms. That is why it is no wonder at all that foreign policy should have been called up for review in precisely this institution.

However, it would be naive to believe that diplomacy itself has committed itself to the "service" of the people. This is evident even from the delegate queries and still more from the confused responses to them. Some time ago Bozo Kovac, a delegate in the Federal Chamber, put the question of what the government had done to protect our citizens from the well-known abuse on the border with socialist and friendly Romania? The answer he received was that certain measures had been taken, he was even told which, but at the end of the written response from the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs it said that the response was "confidential in nature"! So, inaccessible to the public. Translated: the people, which, if I am not mistaken, is still in power in our country, cannot know what its own people's state has done to protect it from humiliating provocations of a foreign state! STUDENT, however, has learned from "well-informed sources" that what was involved was the most commonplace protest to the Romanian Government, while our own working people and citizens in a

country in which foreign policy has been "socialized" know just as much about that protest as the Romanian citizens. Which is nothing.

At the same time, when our diplomatic representative in Switzerland was physically attacked by members of the Albanian political emigre community the next day all the newspapers informed the working people and citizens about the "arrogant provocation which Swiss authorities tolerated"!

The only thing that is not clear to us is the difference between the "arrogant provocation" which occurred to us in a socialist country from the one we were a victim of in the imperialist country!? The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs appears to know.

It did in fact demonstrate this a few days ago in answering the delegate query of yet another Slovene. Janez Lukac asked why Yugoslavia did not establish diplomatic relations with South Korea and Israel? The written response which he received was not qualified as a state secret, and we will quote it in part. First, about South Korea: "In South Korea there has been a military dictatorship for years now. The Laws on State Security and Anticommunist Activity are still in force, providing for the death penalty.... Yugoslavia was among the first countries to recognize the Democratic People's Republic of Korea back in September 1948.... Since the division of the Korean peninsula Yugoslavia has not recognized the South Korean regime, nor has it had diplomatic relations with South Korea.... In keeping with what we have said, establishment of diplomatic relations with South Korea would not contribute to the peaceful unification of the country, but to the efforts to perpetuate the division...."

So, recognition of North Korea did not contribute to "efforts to perpetuate the division," but exclusively contributes to peaceful unification! It is also obvious that establishment of diplomatic relations with South Korea (with which last year we had a volume of trade valued at \$10 million--in which our imports exceeded \$9 million!) would contribute to a strengthening of certain separatistic aspirations in our country, so that it is more than clear that the answer to the delegate query is accurate!

As far as Israel is concerned: "...Since that time (the breakoff of diplomatic relations--author's note) and up to the present time neither in Israel's behavior nor in the declarations of its official authorities any essential change in the Israeli position that would signify a departure from the policy of aggression, occupation, and annexation [original reads 'the taking of opinion surveys']. By holding to those positions and by perpetuating the policy it has had up to now, Israel does not offer any occasion, nor does it create the conditions, that would make it possible to renew contacts and reestablish diplomatic relations...."

Faithful to principle. No question about it! But what are we doing with Vietnam's aggression against Kampuchea? The aggression of the USSR against Afghanistan, the aggression of the United States against Libya, of Libya against Chad, of the United States against Grenada, with which we also have diplomatic relations? Except for this the response to the delegate query is undoubtedly accurate once again!

And let us not ask what we are doing with diplomatic relations with those countries in which communism, as in South Korea, is also punishable by death?

Perhaps it is better for us to go on telling jokes....

Political Shortsightedness

Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian 29 Apr 87 p 5

[Article by Indira Verem: "Just so There Is Ideology, Let the World Go to Ruin!"]

[Text] I think that we had good reason to expect more from Easter this year. After all, all the elements necessary for prediction were there. The holiday fell on the same day for both the Catholics and the Orthodox, which was practical confirmation of the thesis of one God, that kind of symbolism suggested changes to the Communists, and there is nothing left for atheists to believe in but miracles. I personally wanted very much for the classics of Marxism to finally win out in theory over scholasticism and for a defeated Christ to relinquish to them the right to resurrection. For me this would be a unique occasion to learn what socialism is at first hand and to find out what its fundamental definitions are. That is because the experiments in theory and practice have been going on for 80 years now, and when two-thirds of humanity are guinea pigs, that is no joke.

The observation appears at first to be paradoxical, since everything was beautifully written down in Marx and Engels, and it has been clarified by their followers. But a second glance is more penetrating and sees more. Thanks to that second look we are discovering a sea of contradictions: socialism is a production relation of capital, which is why it uses its categories, but it is a system of historical identity; if in the end one insists on distribution and its distinguishing characteristic, you will come upon the label of "vulgar socialism" noted down in the Critique of the Gotha Program; if a new ethical system is presented as the dominant feature of socialism, one gets in the unpleasant position of underlining the erosion of morality, in which there is much more shame than a theoretical concept can take. It seems that the new model of ownership, the dominant role of the proletariat and the principle of equality are socialism's strongest trumps. The latter has especially been used as the most serious comparative advantage.

But the real socioeconomic content of a society is not manifested in the notion it has of itself, but in the impression it gives. Sociology, which bears the highest responsibility among the social scientists, has shown at its meeting of scholars entitled "Development and Crisis of the Social Services in the Eighties" that the picture of "Yugoslav socialism as a society of equality" was done by a painter who was either bad or tendentious.

In socialism they respect you even if you are poor....

Comparative social research papers presented at Zlatibor 16-18 April, some of which we will enumerate, reinforce the esthetic criticism we refer to.

The destructive tornado of the economic crisis is impoverishing almost all social strata, forcing them to definitively enter the phase of social stratification. Those at the most threatened pole of this process are living in a state of social hopelessness (Neca Jovanov), and more and more frequently they are being joined by the social groupings of the employed and the retired. The position of old-age, disability, and survivor pensions has been so critical that one out of every eight pensioners has also been getting welfare. An essential change in this sphere of social security is coming about through the political action of several successive increases, so that today it is much more advantageous to be retired than to be working. As far as the workers are concerned, their already serious position has been threatened by the intervention measures of the federal government, which have jeopardized simple reproduction of manpower. The pauperization of the employed labor force is not a process which equally hurts the entire sphere of labor, as is best illustrated by the ratio between the lowest and highest personal incomes--1:9--when even the lowest strata stand in the proportion 1:4 (M. Zivkovic).

When those relying on social insurance, who acquire that right by their work, face such a black future, what is to be said about the social welfare for marginal social groups, whose survival depends directly on government programs? In the seventies their position could have been called humanly decent. And although even then official social welfare policy rejected the concept of the "welfare state," the concepts of Europe in the traditional areas of social welfare policy are being taken over. The first schools for social welfare workers are beginning, there are university courses for sociologists and psychologists; in the field of child welfare the institution of the "foster home" is being introduced; the ideas of vocational and social rehabilitation are making headway in the welfare of disabled persons, and repression is being abandoned as the basic approach in the field of juvenile delinquency" (M. Ruzica).

But a 10-year recession has been curtailing and shutting off government budgets for social welfare, and the question of social security is being left to the abilities of individuals themselves. A similar general attitude is taking shape even in our country "although in official programs the existing concepts of social welfare policy persist, and there is even particular emphasis on its role in overcoming the present crisis" (M. Ruzica). Consulting the same author, we can very easily prove a policy in exactly the opposite direction, a policy which in the guise of optimizing the sphere of social welfare policy and restructuring social welfare programs, is actually restricting them.

To this we should add the real decline in unemployment compensation, the shortening of the period it is received, and especially introduction of partial payment for health care and limitation of the extended rights.

We are not far from the conclusion that the solutions for the economic crisis are being looked for in the instruments of an ideology alien to us. The crisis has managed to accomplish what social science was unable to do: There is no social justice and equality, but it is because of this particular political system that they do not exist. It has generated stratification of the social environment, but in such a way that the most numerous class, to whose interests the managerial apparatus stands pledged, has been manipulated in terms of social welfare, economics, and politics.

...But Don't Count on It

The concept of socialist democracy negated all the legal and political solutions of the formation which it brought down, including the fundamental definition of the democracy of civilization--equality.

The Yugoslav model of self-management, "instead of universalizing people as citizens, offers a new generalization of people as workers: they are all members of the society of workers and base their position on the contribution they make by their work. Equality in production relations can be brought about gradually even without fundamental and general equality of people and citizens. A social welfare policy which is based on the equality of people in the production process and on the manner of their decisionmaking concerning it cannot in fact offer anything more than to transform the economic system into a social welfare system. However, "an economy which functions as a social welfare system is not the product of an excessive influence of 'social welfare,' but of the characteristic mechanism for maintaining the power of the party-bureaucratic apparatus and for creating universal dependence of individuals and social groups on the monopolized state. The function of the social economy is best referred to as a way of maintaining social peace" (V. Pesic). She found that the social order inverts the Western concept of equality in that the equality of social groups and individuals is placed in the economic sphere, while inequality is manifested in the political sphere.

Political inequality is most obviously indicated in the alienation of the working people from centers of decisionmaking. Even when they are part of them, the influence of the workers can hardly be recorded. The institutional mechanism of self-management has accomplished an exceptional neutralization of the opinion of the direct producers, and the nonexistence of a democratic atmosphere of economic life in general makes it possible for penalties to be invoked against those few self-managers who are active. This is shown by the results of a survey done by Slobodan Vukovic: 87.2 percent of the workers polled felt that they might suffer consequences of expressing an opinion "frequently and sometimes." A relatively high 68.8 percent of managers and supervisors think the same. The actually unprotected position of the workers, in spite of all the "protective" mechanisms, has compelled them to be distrustful even of their own primary organization. The same survey revealed that 65.3 percent of the workers do not feel as though they are trade union members. The figures show that it is an organization of the technical intelligentsia (80 percent of the affirmative answers) and of the managerial economic structure (79 percent).

In certain cases the inequality of the political sphere can be referred to as outright discrimination. After all, if all rights are derived from the sphere of labor, then the huge segment of the population which is unemployed has been placed outside the system of decisionmaking. If we leave aside the indirect elections every 4 years, 14 percent of the population (including 78 percent of people under 30) have no political representation! Now it can be seen more clearly that the class differentiation is deepening to become a generational differentiation in which there is no possibility of shattering the model of social welfare and social injustice.

Which mechanism has most effectively influenced the political distortion and this grave deformation of social integration? Perhaps Veljko Rus has exposed the secret in analyzing the relations between the spheres of politics and economics, concluding that they stand in a "syncretic" relation in which the dominant role is taken by the sphere of politics. But "the relation between politics and economics from the standpoint of the struggle for power cannot end otherwise than in an elimination of one side or on the other hand an erosion of both." That is why "there is no other possibility except the one offered us by the economists: strict functional differentiation of both systems and elimination of their syncretism. The government ought not to interfere in the economy, but ought to be concerned about those groups which economic logic would thrust toward the bottom or even over the edge of social space." In such a system "labor would have not only an incentive role, but also a functional role. Labor which is not merely a source of income, but also a source of social power, takes on that role in socialism which property had in capitalism. In that case the state of the Bolshevik type would be transformed into a welfare state."

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REPERCUSSIONS OF MINERS' LENGTHY STRIKE ASSESSED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 17 May 87 pp 12-16

[Article by Zvonko Simic and boxed material by Ramiz Kurtesi and Ruzica Vuger: "Labin: The Lessons of the Longest Strike"]

[Text] After being on strike for 33 days the miners of "Rasa" went back to work, but for a long time everyone involved will be going back to the question: What happened?

Probably the miners did succeed in getting their basic demand--proportionately better valuation of labor in direct production, especially underground. The first digger (highly skilled) will have almost the same starting pay as the shift engineer or engineer for the demolition process and an unskilled loader underground will pass the foreman of the separation plant with junior postsecondary specialized training, who is above ground.

The conditional is because the new relations, after going through the normal process of criticism and discussion, is to be confirmed by a referendum. Those familiar with conditions and relations in the mine feel that the changes will pass in the referendum.

In these first moments of calm and relaxation it is simply indelicate to ask anyone the question: But what if it does not pass?

It should be emphasized that no sort of resources from outside are involved in this redistribution. Back in an early phase of the strike, as soon as the basic demands began to be shaped and placed in the context of current realities, along with shouts to the effect: "One hundred percent of the base, otherwise no negotiations," soberer voices emerged:

"We are not demanding that they bring us a sackful of money, but that we divide up what there is, but differently."

Soon these voices became dominant. It still seems today, more than earlier, that the strike could have lasted only half as long if they had started out in the direction which they ultimately found by groping. OK, this is what there is, how would you divide it up? The distrust on both sides was too great. The rank and file were afraid that they would be manipulated once again, and the

"officials" heard nothing but anarchoid shouting, and at a critical point the workers' council passed a decision for an 18-percent increase across the board instead of immediately offering a redistribution within the limits of what was possible.

Our Bosnians

People in Labin show a great and understandable sensitivity when they are asked about the "Gostarbeiter" component of the strike, suspecting that the questioner wants to switch the topic to the ethnic or nationalistic terrain. "What difference does it make where the miners come from?" Ante Ukusic, chairman of the opstina trade union council, said on one occasion. "They are our workers."

That is, of course, the only possible and only correct position. However, the "Gostarbeiter component" obviously did figure in the Labin event, and without any insinuation whatsoever as to nationalism, this cannot be overlooked if one is to understand and explain what happened. Put simply, a component in the mass of people from another cultural region, with a more or less different way of life, has been living its life here, and individuals, some better, some worse, have slowly been fitting into the new environment, which also has been slow to accept them--some better, some worse. This usually takes a generation.

This might also be put differently: If the Bosnian "Rasa" mines had been striking in Bosnia, this strike would not have followed the course it did. It would have been the same if the "Rasa" miners had been from Istria, and had gone out on strike.

"You won't get rid of me even if there are 10,000 of you," a miner says, claiming to faithfully repeat the words of a manager. Everyone can take what meaning he likes for that "you."

The efforts to end the strike went awry when in a meeting of party members on the eve of the May Day holiday "political differentiation" was demanded, there was talk about the "idlers who were the instigators," and party members were called upon to go underground regardless of solidarity with the strikers. On 4 May many people unexpectedly went underground, including even certain "instigators," and it seemed that the end was in sight. One of the "instigators" explained to this journalist a day or 2 before the strike ended that they wanted in this way to celebrate the anniversary of Tito's death. Precisely by going down into the mine that day. He did not say, but it was implied: and to repudiate political insinuations.

The Miners' Beehive

Dissatisfaction with personal incomes, the demand that housing credits be available even to those who are building outside Labin Commune, rotation of shifts, and charges against managers and the like--are not problems which cropped up yesterday. "Miners' beehives" had been humming with them for months. When the spark was struck, the collective resentment had no difficulty finding expression in several direct demands. The fact that the mine "officials" did not hear or did not want to hear the humming, or paid no attention to it, can be chalked up to the system of responsibility.

There is a great deal of responsibility. Our political personnel are very much responsible, but to those who chose them--and they are not the voters. This scheme of the way responsibility actually is in practice does not apply to political personnel alone. It is helpful in coming to understand that the "Rasa" and Labin personnel did not pay too much attention to the humming of the "miner's beehive," even when the "colony swarmed." On the contrary: they functioned like a net for insects with which they would have captured the colony and forced it back into the hive.

The trade union segment of this Labin net was in the meantime alerted that in such situations they should not stand aloof from the workers, since they would lose members. The warning (according to a report by VJESNIK) came from Zvonimir Hrabar, who had just been nominated for the new chairman of the Central Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, and it was uttered on Monday in a meeting of the presidium. Were a journalist to allow himself enough cynicism to push the "matter" to the end, he might write something like this: The purpose of the membership is to pay dues. A bit earlier Dr Stipe Suvar had this to say about the ins and outs of the Labin situation: "This is the first time that Communists have played the role of strikebreakers."

A few days before the strike began elections took place here for the trade union leadership of the mine. In our country the president of the trade union organization in any sizable collective is not elected directly, but by successive steps in the delegate system. The incumbent president of the trade union conference at "Rasa" received five-sixths or six-sevenths of the votes of the delegates in those elections. He had opposition. Both were Labin Bosnians, and they were even both Muslims.

The Trade Union Put to the Test

It turned out later that the president was a stalwart opponent of the strike and the strikers, and at one point they demanded removal of the entire executive board of the trade union organization and the utterly defeated opposition candidate was the person in whom they placed their confidence during the strike! Toward the end of the strike he was elected after their nomination to the 10-member commission of the workers' council which was actually operating as an informal strike committee, and he even became chairman. Formally the commission was named by the workers' council. Actually the strikers chose it from among their own ranks. It was that commission that formulated the redistribution of available resources for personal incomes in the spirit of the demands of the strikers: for proportionately better appreciation of production work, especially underground, and it was this and the resignations of two hated managers that brought the strikers back into the mine.

As soon as the strike was over, one leader in Labin reflected on it this way in this newsman's presence: "If the strike were given a legal status, then it could also have its negotiating aspect, and that would mean an opportunity to end it more quickly. These are two altogether different situations: When across the table from you you have a negotiator who has been given some power as compared to when individuals from the background in a meeting shout demands without arguments which anyway will have to change the next day or the day after that."

Along with this approach from the practical side, it is worth noting that the Labin strike ended very quickly once it took on its own "physiognomy," once some kind of leadership took shape. That "commission" of the workers' council which was actually chosen by the strikers included five people from each of the two striking OOUR's. In 3 days they drafted a proposal of new starting salaries, and the experts from the enterprise had no objections to make to their work from either the technical or financial side.

And something else. When these people tackled a specific job, they did not, as one might have expected, give all the available resources to work underground, nor did they act in the spirit of certain of the original demands: an increase across the board for everyone underground. They had to think about each group of employees, and they awarded a certain increase to each group--from 4 percent to 46.5 percent.

Removals

The meetings which were then held at 0700 hours on Tuesday found these proposals to be satisfactory, but they behaved differently. At "Tupljak" everything was done in half an hour, adopted by acclamation, and the first shift was on the job to the last man. At Labin the meeting lasted 5 hours. Changes in distribution were pushed into the background, and most of the time and nerves were devoted to removing two managers.

"Fine, the technical supervisor of the mine resigned, but now tell us at once: Who is to replace him?" The person who by the nature of the work should have been his replacement took the floor and said: "I ought to take this offer as an honor, but some of you have expressed a lack of confidence in me, and I do not have confidence in some of you, and so I will not accept that job."

Finally, they all got tired of the tug-of-war: It was left to the mine management, as is normal, to choose a person, and some 60 men, the number required, went down into the mine on the third shift.

This difference between the meetings at Labin and "Tupljak" was felt from the beginning. This can be explained by the fact that "Tupljak" was quicker to shape some informal leadership of the strike, it had full confidence in that leadership and followed its lead when it suggested: we have gotten what was possible, this is the end.

Strikes have been occurring in Yugoslavia for 30 years now, and reality has made complete nonsense of what is anyway an artificial dilemma: Is there a place for work stoppages in socialism? However, even in connection with the Labin strike there were local statements to the effect that this method of fighting to "straighten out the curves in the Drina" is unnecessary and incompatible with socialism. That fully conforms to the Stalinist theses about a conflict-free society, but it does not fit with reality at all. Those who are fond of authoritative quotations might recall that even Lenin did not preclude "the use of the strike as a weapon in a state with a proletarian government...."

A Real Vacancy

According to certain sources, in the first 3 months of this year there have been about 400 work stoppages involving about 50,000 "stoppers" in the country. There is no enactment whatsoever prohibiting the strike in our country, but neither has it been legally regulated, and this makes it more difficult to settle any particular strike both with respect to procedure and substance. Prof Neca Jovanov has expressed the interesting opinion that a strike usually signifies articulation of conflicts that exist, and the events at Labin have in fact shown that this is the first step toward resolving those conflicts. A smoldering conflict is not diagnosed, it lasts an indefinitely long period, and it certainly causes more damage. In our country about 700,000 employed persons are absent every day, and approximately 400,000 more are attending meetings outside the workplace. Add all that up, it comes to one out of every six persons employed. One can only guess at the effect that smoldering conflicts have on that rate of real absenteeism.

[Box, p 13]

Ramiz Kurtesi: Is Gold Black?

Only the nicest things have always been written about miners. They have been used to prove to ourselves that we are industrious, that we like to work.

That is why everyone was surprised by the strike of the miners in Labin which lasted 33 days.

To go back a bit: On 3 March of last year the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee adopted positions concerning the Labin mine. They called for defining the long-term prospects for the mine's development in keeping with the social commitment and strategy of development of the fuel and power industry. It called for reassessment of the decision of the Executive Council of the Croatian Assembly on allocation of funds from the "petroleum revenues" being put up as credit for mine construction, since the other republics and provinces were appropriating these resources to coal mines as grants. They also called for finding the resources to attain a higher level of the social standard of living, that is, to build housing, residence hotels for bachelors, and a dormitory for apprentices. The miners were also demanding that the personal income in underground mines be raised, that is, that it be 50-percent higher than the average in Croatian industry. There were also other precisely formulated demands which were adopted at that time.

This actually signified a renewed demand formulated in the self-management accord on minimum standards for working and living conditions of workers in underground coal mines which were signed by all the coal mines, the mine in Labin among them, way back in 1981. It spelled out what the miner must be provided, at least as a minimum, so that he can do his work underground. It stated that coal mining would not be organized on the basis of overtime, that an extra meal with at least 1,500 calories would be provided, free travel to and from work, a residence hotel for bachelors, culture and entertainment, advanced professional training, and also the clearly stated position that the personal incomes of underground miners must be at least 50 percent higher than those outside.

The coal mines are not in a position, at least not all of them, to meet the obligations contained in that accord which they signed. There are many reasons for that. The losses of underground coal mines in Yugoslavia amounted to 27 billion dinars last year. This is 4.8-fold more than in 1985. And the price of coal in 1986 rose all of 70 percent over the previous year.

The consequences of the energy shock are still being felt. Relying on inexpensive petroleum, somewhere in the sixties we shut down the mines. Now the bill is being collected in terms of lost time.

In terms of labor productivity our miner is not lagging behind world standards. He produces about 187 tons of coal a month. In France his fellow miner produces 61, and in West Germany 55 tons. These figures need a bit of clarification. When we say that this is approximately the same quantity, we are referring to the energy value of the coal mined. Our predominant grade is a low-quality lignite, while in the countries referred to the coal grades are of higher quality. But if our miner produces 20 tons a shift, at the very next level above him, the level of the mine section itself, the average falls to 5 tons, and for the mine as a whole it falls to a catastrophic 3 or indeed even 2 tons. All mines, especially coal mines, have been under a constant pressure to solve other problems of the environment as well: unemployment, schools, health care, housing construction, roads.... The Velenje mine can serve as an example of this burden. With respect to all indicators it is our most up-to-date and best-organized mine, and there are not many like it in the world. However, half of the losses of the coal mines in Yugoslavia has been incurred by this mine. It is an utter absurdity when we realize that this mine deliberately undertook a loss in order to protect the standard of living of the workers. That is why it had to take short-term credits and loans amounting to 7 billion dinars. Its loss was 12 billion. Perhaps business could be carried on under these conditions if it were mining gold instead of lignite.

Incidentally, in the world at large underground miners have always been the leaders in earnings, together with steelworkers and sandhogs. Regardless of whether they work in the east or west. In Poland, for example, the miners do not even do military service! It is felt that a man who goes underground has already given enough to his homeland.

A little improvement in the position of the coal mines in Yugoslavia did come about in the previous 5-year plan, in 1982 an agreement was reached on the basis of that plan for development of the coal mines. Coal production in our country during that period rose at an 8-percent higher rate. However, in this 5-year period, we are now already in its 2d year, and there is no such agreement, although it was stated that it would be adopted back at the beginning of this year. Last year's output was the same as in 1985. The predictions for this year do not depart from that.

[Box, pp 14-15]

Ruzica Vuger: The Electric Power Industry of Croatia: Questions Without Answers

The electric power industry of Croatia is certainly among the entities with the greatest (economic) interest in the future of the Labin coal mines: The Plomin I steam plant is the only facility for generating power in this republic which uses coal as a fuel, and Plomin II (which is now under construction) is the largest investment project now being built.

The present power plant, with an installed capacity of 125 MW, consumes about 240,000 tons of coal for an annual output of about 500 million kwh of power. About 80 percent of that comes from Istria, and some 40,000 tons are shipped from the "Djurdjevik" coal mine in Bosnia, since the resulting mixture burns better.

The Plomin II power plant under construction will have an installed capacity of 200 MW and is scheduled to go on line in 1990 with an anticipated output of between 1 and 1.1 billion kwh of power and a consumption of about 500,000 tons of coal. Of course, this would mainly be coal from Labin, that was the assumption on which the project was undertaken. The fate of this major project is already in jeopardy because of the alleged pollution of the environment which in the opinion of ecologists would threaten the future of Istrian tourism and agriculture, and indeed even the forests of Gorski Kotar. Following stormy discussions, the Assembly of SR Croatia set down the obligation to install pollution control devices for desulfurization, which the investor fiercely resisted for a long time, saying that this would add too much to the cost of the investment project and thereby, of course, also to the price of the future kilowatt of power. This Plomin knot (technological and economic) had not yet been unraveled, when now here we have new grounds for reassessment. The interest which the electric power industry has in the future development of events is probably sufficiently indicated by the datum that according to the last supplement to the investment program, the investment in Plomin II amounts to about 14 billion dinars without the pollution control devices mentioned, while according to certain unofficial information their price ranges between all of \$40 to \$100 million depending on the type and composition of the fuel that will be used. This would mean that even in the very choice of those devices there is a need to have a fairly reliable knowledge of how much Labin coal is to be used and how much there might be of some other fuel, which fuel, and how much of it?

Is There Coal?

This dimension of the problem is not resolved at all by the miner going back underground, even if the "normal state of affairs" should be reestablished on a quite permanent basis. After all, the strike brought into the public eye not only the miners' salaries and living conditions, but also the future of the mines, and thereby also the problem which up to now has caused wrinkled brows and embarrassed headshakings only in the small circles of insiders: The Labin mine simply does not have as much coal as was counted on when this investment project was undertaken. Not only for commercial exploitation, and this is

especially true of the Ripenda mine, where a sizable portion of the worker investments was committed.

The miners, then, talk with good reason about wrong-headed investment which has to be a burden on the overall business operation of the mines. The public outcry rose up only with the strike, but we have learned that even a year ago (with the third supplement to the investment program of the Ripenda and Tupljak mines) there was an essential departure from the quantities previously bandied about. In that assessment, Tupljak could increase output from last year's 165,000 tons to 325,000 tons and maintain that up to the year 2008. But if Ripenda doubles its present 105,000 tons, according to that supplement all the reserves will be consumed even by 1995, and the cost of that would be very high. Meanwhile, one hears the most recent whispered statements to the effect that the portrayal of Ripenda in that supplement was too optimistic, that is, that its reserves would be exhausted before Plomin II is completed.

It will be up to future studies to verify that, and presumably they will also reveal what role the management of the mines has had in all this, a management which has first come under criticism from the miners because of this matter. And then there are the mining experts from Zagreb and Belgrade who supposedly estimated the reserves; the competent commission of the Croatian Republic Committee for Energy, which put its own "blessing" on that finding; and then also those participating in building Plomin II.

Yet in spite of everything, the question imposes itself and remains: What do these new circumstances signify for the electric power industry and in particular for the plant whose construction has reached such a high stage of completion? On the one hand, because of the shaken assumptions about fuel reserves, and on the other because of the possible ultimate outcome of the strike, since (assuming the possibility that the mines will "die out") there was also the expectation that the material difficulties would be resolved by a rise in the price of coal. At the present price, we have learned, this is one of the most expensive producers of power. We put this question to Hasanbegovic, engineer and member of the Business Board of the Community of Electric Power Organizations of Croatia, who is responsible for production and transmission, who says:

"It is a question of examining the most recent circumstances, and next month the question of where we are and how we proceed will be up before the management authorities. For now, I can say that among specialists concerned with this the conviction prevails that construction of the power plant should certainly continue, not only because of what has already been invested there, but also because of the high energy demands of this republic which are difficult to meet."

Does this also apply if the mine should actually be shut down?

"Well, that assumption is also being examined, although it is not altogether realistic. Possible alternatives are purchasing coal at some more profitable domestic field or imported coal, and another possibility (as a transitional solution) would be using gas from the northern Adriatic, for which there are not enough consumers in Istria, and at present there are no facilities to transport

it to the interior of the country. A study is also being made of the Koromacno field as a possible additional source of coal. The profitability of all the alternatives has to be examined. But it should be said that closing down the mines is neither a realistic nor a logical outcome for the mine as a whole. The Tupljak mine is not only more abundant, but also far more economical to operate. The average price of coal which the electric power industry paid last year to the Rasa Istrian Mine includes the price per ton from Ripenda, which is twice as high as the price at Tupljak, and in this year's plan it is even more than twice as expensive."

It is true, then, that because of the price of the fuel the power generated at Plomin for the electric power industry is now more expensive than its sales price in the transmission network, but it is also obvious that Tupljak is a profitable coal mine even at this price.

What If There Is No Power

The fact is, unfortunately, that Croatia, which is quite poor in sources of energy, does not have a particularly broad range of alternatives for meeting the demand. The more favorable streams have mainly been harnessed; steam plants fired with residual fuel oil are a well-known tale, and it simply has not been possible to reach an agreement about new joint investments in the other republics and provinces. Under the pressure of these facts and of the growing demand, which already exceeds 15 billion kwh of power a year, a decision is made when there is a squeeze because of ever more expensive investments, so that it becomes easier and easier to enter into things that may later prove to have been hasty.

Is Ripenda at least in part a consequence of that kind of atmosphere, or are we primarily dealing with certain other oversights and interests; so far there has been no clear answer to this. The calculations have been seriously shaken and it has to be admitted that the strike has directed stronger searchlights on them, although one gets the impression that people would have preferred to sweep them under the carpet of the overall economic problems or into the shadow of the current demands of the miners for improvement of their pay and working conditions. But even if the funds should be found, right now or very soon, to meet all those demands, the actual cutting of the knot is merely being postponed, and there will be no calmer or more content future for the entire Istrian coal mining industry unless coverage is found in terms of adequate and profitable production. This is a topic that has been left too much to one side in discussions up to now. The miners have all gone back underground, but this basic question has not become any easier or less important thereby.

7045

CSO: 2800/214

BRIEFS

GACIC RECEIVES NICARAGUAN AMBASSADOR--Belgrade, 3 June (TANJUG)--Radisa Gacic, secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, today received Raul Rana Castellon, the ambassador of the Republic of Nicaragua in the SFRY. In the course of a conversation which took place on this occasion both sides expressed readiness further to promote and intensify cooperation between the LCY and the Sandinista Front of the National Liberation of Nicaragua. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1354 GMT 3 Jun 87 LD] /12913

UZELAC REELECTED BOSNIAN LC PRESIDENT--At the end of the Bosnian LC Central Committee plenary session, the Bosnian LC Central Committee Presidium held a session and reelected Milan Uzelac as its president. [Unattributed report: "Milan Uzelac Again President"] [Text] [Belgrade BORNA in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 87 p 3 AU] /12913

CSO: 2800/226

NEW METHODS OF VEHICLE MAINTENANCE HIGHLIGHTED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 21 (signed to press 18 May 87) p 8

[Interview with Col Werner Freitag of the Ministry for National Defense, date and place of interview not indicated]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Colonel, VOLKSARMEE has already reported briefly in the issue of 15/87 p 2 on the Defense Minister's visit to a training presentation prepared by the Motor Vehicle Service of the National Peoples Army. What was the purpose of this visit?

[Answer] I have to give you some background on this. For many years we in the Motor Vehicle Service have been trying to introduce efficiency procedures for repetitive processes--particularly for technical maintenance and personnel training. This is the only way we can conserve working time, free up financial and material resources for other purposes, and meet ever-increasing demands for combat and operational readiness in terms of automotive technology. In preparation for the Xith Party Congress of the Socialist Unity Party, we were able to introduce a broad initiative among the members of the Motor Vehicle Service for the intensification of technical automotive maintenance. This program has taken the form of many accountable duties and projects, all of which have been carried out with attention paid to high quality. Aided by our study of the documents from the Xith Party Congress and from the XIVth Delegates Conference, and based on the concept confirmed by the National Defense [Ministry], we have continued intensification of all processes in this area and structured them according to plan.

At a consultation with the commanders and responsible officers of the Motor Vehicle Service in the Dohmke Institute of the Air Forces and Air Defense Command on 16 June 1986, we analyzed our position to date, determined goals for further intensification, and at the same time undertook a performance comparison, together with an exchange of experience. By the way, the performance comparison won over the army personnel and the civil employees at that Institute.

These efforts enabled us to develop a genuine spirit of competition in preparation for this training presentation. In this context, the Motor Vehicle Service of the National People's Army presented an exhibit at the Floether Institute from 30 March until 3 April illustrating the state of intensification that has been currently achieved and showed how we are going to move forward from here. This presentation involved 150 exhibits, technologies, and complex solutions, most of which were developed in preparation for the Xith Party Congress and since then.

[Question] Can you say something about the importance of intensification and provide an example to clarify what has already been achieved along these lines?

[Answer] The need to intensify motor vehicle maintenance derives from the constantly expanding demands for higher combat readiness which I have already cited as well as from military economic reasons. Naturally efforts to improve service and living conditions also play a role. The development of the Motor Vehicle Service itself also poses its own demands, for the degree of complexity involved in motor vehicle technology continues to increase: buoyancy chambers, independent wheel suspensions, gas turbines, exhaust turbo chargers, microelectronics, and electronic measuring devices--these are all key words associated with the BAZ, MAZ, and TATRA 815 models introduced in the years from 1983 to 1987.

Now let me cite an example of what we have achieved:

We have succeeded in continuously reducing average fuel consumption per 100 km. In 1985 it was 24.6 l, which is 3.1 l less than in 1980. In other words, per kilometer performance for each ton of diesel fuel or regular gasoline consumed has increased.

We have accomplished this through economical driving methods and improved engineering. This applies particularly for fuel and ignition systems, in which case technical diagnostics and brittle lacquer seals are important. In the end result another important factor has been increased introduction of vehicle types such as the B1000, Multicar, and diesel vehicles, which are not as fuel intensive.

[Question] What role does modern computer technology play in this context?

[Answer] Given the current vehicle inventory and the wide variety of models, it is hardly possible any more to maintain control of all the planning tasks, proofs, accounting procedures, and analyses by hand. These tasks require a high expenditure of time, but still don't provide the information we need in a viable form. Therefore we wanted to develop a data processing system that would make it possible for us to actually turn around the entire administrative sector and at the same time to produce more effective information for leadership decisions.

We worked out the following requirements:

- o We have to be able to demonstrate real savings in working time at the company and battalion level.
- o The data processing program must be applicable throughout the service, from the individual troop unit to the Ministry for National Defense.
- o The quality of proofs and accounting must be improved, and we must have the opportunity to run various types of computer analyses.
- o Project interfaces must ensure computer-aided planning and analysis for various sub-processes at a wide variety of leadership levels.

According to these principles, we developed the data-processing program E72-Technical Reports for Tanks and Motor Vehicles. I suggest that you publish an article on the subject in VOLKSARMEE, which a specialist in our administration could write for you.

We are also using data-processing programs on office computers, and we have achieved various effects in the direction of improved analytical work in the staffs, using micro-computers.

When we are introducing micro-computers, it is very important to be certain that we break down any resistance to computer technology and that we prepare personnel for future uses of office and personal computers.

The Renewal Collective of the Motor Vehicle Maintenance Unit Wolda has developed a computer-aided work station for checking, maintaining, and calibrating testing and measurement devices. This has increased labor productivity by 200% or more, while at the same time increasing quality. VA has already reported on this work station in the 21/86 issue. We set up a make-shift version of the work station at the training presentation.

[Question] How do things look in the training area?

[Answer] The training programs for military drivers and non-commissioned officers have been developed based on an analysis of our requirements. They correspond to these requirements and have been structured according to learner acquisition levels. Hence intensification has to concentrate on the following key point in this area:

- o The most effective utilization of each training hour.
- o Thorough preparation of the trainers and training assistants.
- o Guaranteed effectiveness through the use of the appropriate educational materials, trainers, and simulators.
- o Decreased financial and material expenditures.
- o Ensuring practical and combat-like training involving high physical and psychological stress.
- o Rapid transferal of research and testing results to the organization as well as into the methodical structure of the training program.
- o Introduction of danger training.

Because trainers and simulators are hardly produced on a commercial basis or their costs are very high, our own production of training equipment is a top priority. We have illustrated a few examples at the training presentation, together with methodologically correct structuring of the educational process.

[Question] Certainly you have also been engaged in activities involving maintenance and troop readiness?

[Answer] Naturally! With respect to the intensification of technical maintenance, at the present time we want to cut down on the scope of maintenance. In order to arrive at a technically-based optimum level, we took into consideration many years of experience using the equipment and the results of a long-term test. Modern maintenance equipment is also supposed to play a role. Technical diagnosis using effective instruments is designed to ensure the quality of technical maintenance and repair.

It is clear to us that in the future we must find simple, economically viable technical solutions for time-consuming operations, such as washing equipment and for daily engineering maintenance, but we have yet to be

successful with our plans for an air-water pistol for increased washing efficiency. We can certainly still tap reserves in terms of organization and technical maintenance, as we have indicated in the exhibit. Consistent application of rust protection to cavities in superstructures, driver cabs, and metal stakebeds increases their service life and reduces maintenance.

In the area of personnel readiness, we have taken several steps toward intensification and increased efficiency. These include the introduction of both some new maintenance technologies, but also some that have fallen into disuse, plus procedures such as bonding techniques, metal surface welding, MIG-MAG-welding, and flame injection. Other methods include everything from simple efficiency procedures to test stands for electronic components, as well as computer-aided test and measurement stands.

We are continuing our program in repairing detail parts for [machine] assemblies. As a result of this detail parts maintenance program, we have reduced our requirements for assemblies during intermediate maintenance in troop workshops from an average of 3.8 assemblies in 1980 to 2.6 in 1986. We have been achieving significant yearly financial savings by repairing assembly detail parts.

The substitution of replacement parts, in-house production, and rebuilding has achieved high utilization and lowered import requirements. We have achieved 41.5 percent of our yearly needs by retreading tires, which has saved a great deal of money. For this very reason we plan to increase this percentage.

[Question] What results do you anticipate from the training presentation?

[Answer] The goal we are hoping to achieve with the training presentation is to inform many responsible comrades of the Service about the level of intensification and efficiency that we have achieved and to instruct them concerning data-processing programs, technologies, and procedures. We want to motivate them through this exchange of ideas to convert our collective experience even more effectively into goals. And we want to instruct a large circle of personnel in our continued intensification and efficiency projects in the Motor Vehicle Service.

Last, but not least, I anticipate in the immediate future that we will progress more rapidly, for instance, that coordination among the military districts, the military services, and the GDR border troops in the area of rebuilding and producing replacement parts will be even better than it has been in the past.

It is my opinion that in this way the Motor Vehicle Service can make its contribution through these opportunities to the program presented by Comrade Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the German Socialist Unity Party in his speech to the 1st District Secretaries, in which he called on us to solve the problems of intensification and increased efficiency with the aid of computer technology.

[Interviewer] Comrade Colonel, VOLKSARMEE thanks you for the interview!

STATISTICS ON TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS, FATALITIES PUBLISHED

East Berlin DDR-VERKEHR in German Vol 19 No 5, May 87 pp 138-140

[Article by Heribert Mally: "A Few Aspects of Highway Traffic Safety"]

[Text] "In the course of the continuing development of socialist society and the need to create the basic preconditions for a gradual transition to Communism in the German Democratic Republic, the well-being, safety, and security of the citizens are our primary concern. This also requires a high degree of order and safety on our highways, as well as good traffic flow.

As stated in the preamble to our Traffic Safety Regulations, this basic principle is the leitmotif for all governmental and social efforts to guarantee and increase traffic safety, because order, safety, and good traffic flow contribute to the protection of the lives and health of our citizens and help prevent economic losses in the domestic economy. This conforms entirely to our primary goal as it reflects the unity of economic and social policy. Hence we are obligated in the future to contribute even greater initiative and energy to traffic safety.

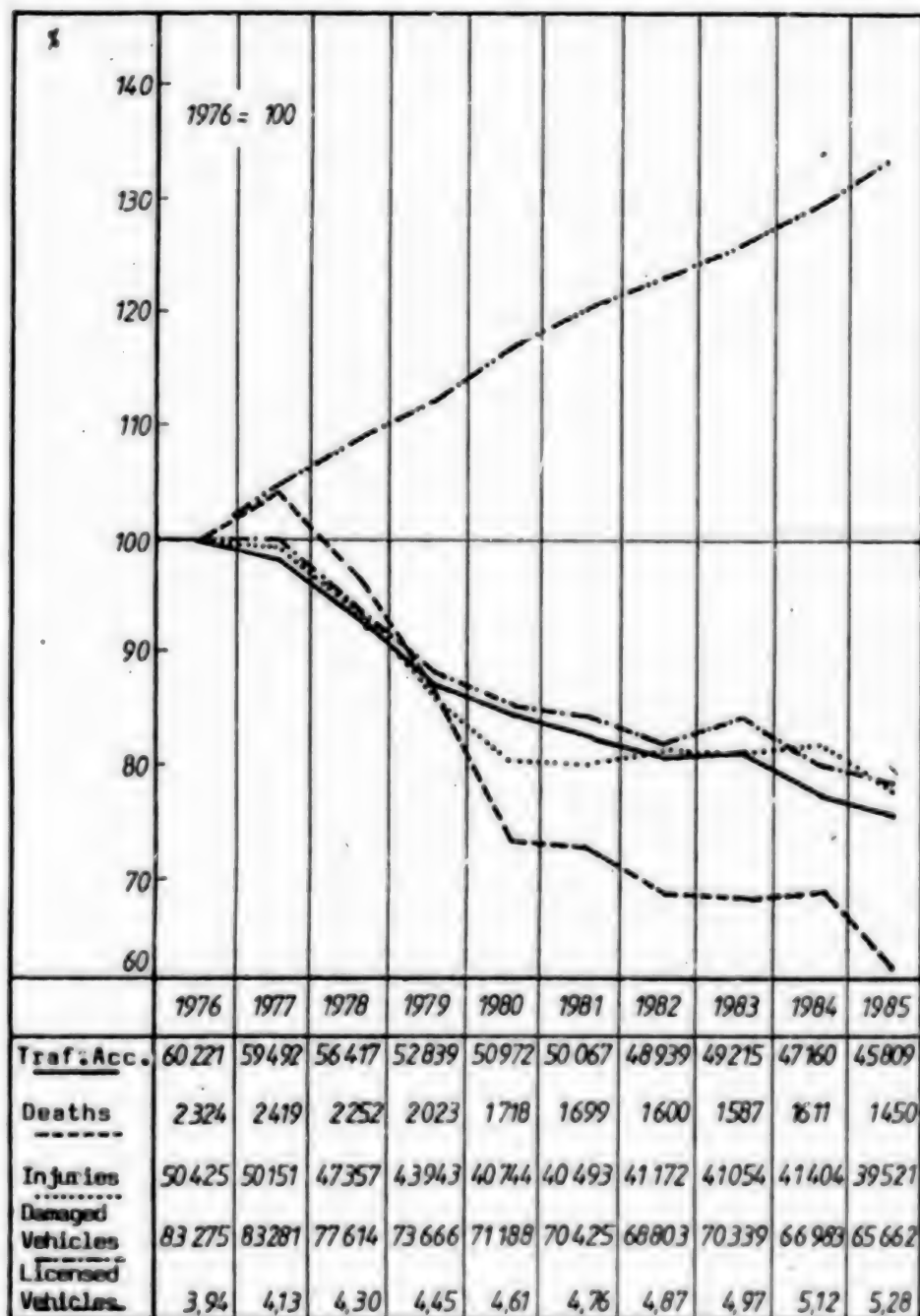
Given our people's growing material and cultural standard of living, the vehicle population, above all the number of passenger cars, has grown considerably. At present 5.45 mill. motor vehicles have been licensed for use in highway traffic. In addition to this, we must also count 1.52 mill. trailers and about 1.9 mill motor bikes. Passenger cars exhibit the highest growth rate of 29.3% since 1980. Thus at the moment 3.46 million passenger cars are licensed for use in highway traffic. This factor alone indicates that traffic density on our streets and highways has increased considerably and will continue to grow.

Thus it is inevitable that everyone who is involved in traffic, vehicle drivers, bike riders, and pedestrians, but primarily drivers, must meet ever-increasing demands. However, mastery of these demands is not limited to the individuals involved in traffic, but also requires great continuing governmental and social efforts to ensure successful order, safety, and good traffic flow in the future.

The decisions and programs of the GDR government form the basis for traffic safety efforts, in particular the GDR Traffic Safety Program of January 1986, which will be valid for a long period of time, and which spells out the strategy for traffic safety efforts in the GDR over the next few years. This kind of long-term orientation toward our primary goals has proven itself in the past because it provides the basic prerequisites for planning activities

at the governmental and social levels, and represents a guideline for the behavior of each individual involved in highway traffic. Thus it has been proven that since the promulgation of the first GDR traffic safety program in 1977, we have registered a decrease in the number of traffic accidents and their consequences. Whereas there were an estimated 60,200 traffic accidents in 1976, accompanied by 50,425 personal injuries and 2,324 deaths, there were only 45,800 accidents in 1985, with 39,521 injuries and 1,450 persons killed.

Figure 1: Development of the Incidence of Traffic Accidents vs. the Motor Vehicle Population (Excluding motor bikes) 1976-1985



With reference to conditions in 1976, the GDR accident ratios for 1985 are lower for:

traffic accidents	by 23.9%
traffic injuries	by 21.6%
traffic deaths	by 37.6%.

Figure 1 illustrates the development of traffic accidents in the GDR.

The main causes for accidents have remained essentially the same for years; these include

Speed violations	about 25%.
Failure to yield the right of way	about 19%.
Illegally stepping onto or crossing the traffic lane	about 12%.

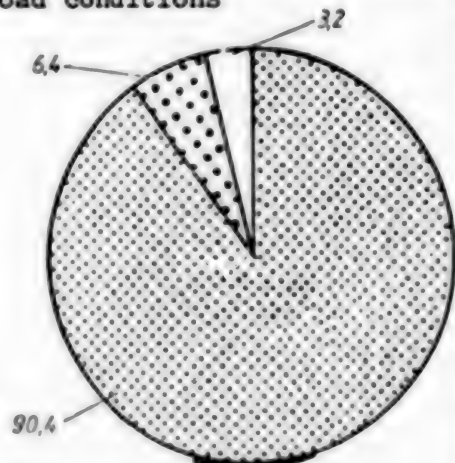
Figure 2 shows the main causes for accidents in 1985. With respect to the primary causes of accidents, passenger car drivers rank in first place, with motorcycle and motorbike riders in second place, followed by pedestrians (Figure 3). These accident patterns correspond essentially to international tendencies.

Figure 2: Causative Factors Affecting Driver, Rider & Pedestrian Behavior
Overall Structure of the Causes for Traffic Accidents

1985

Main Accident Causes Attributable to Human Behavior

Mechanical vehicle defects
Road conditions

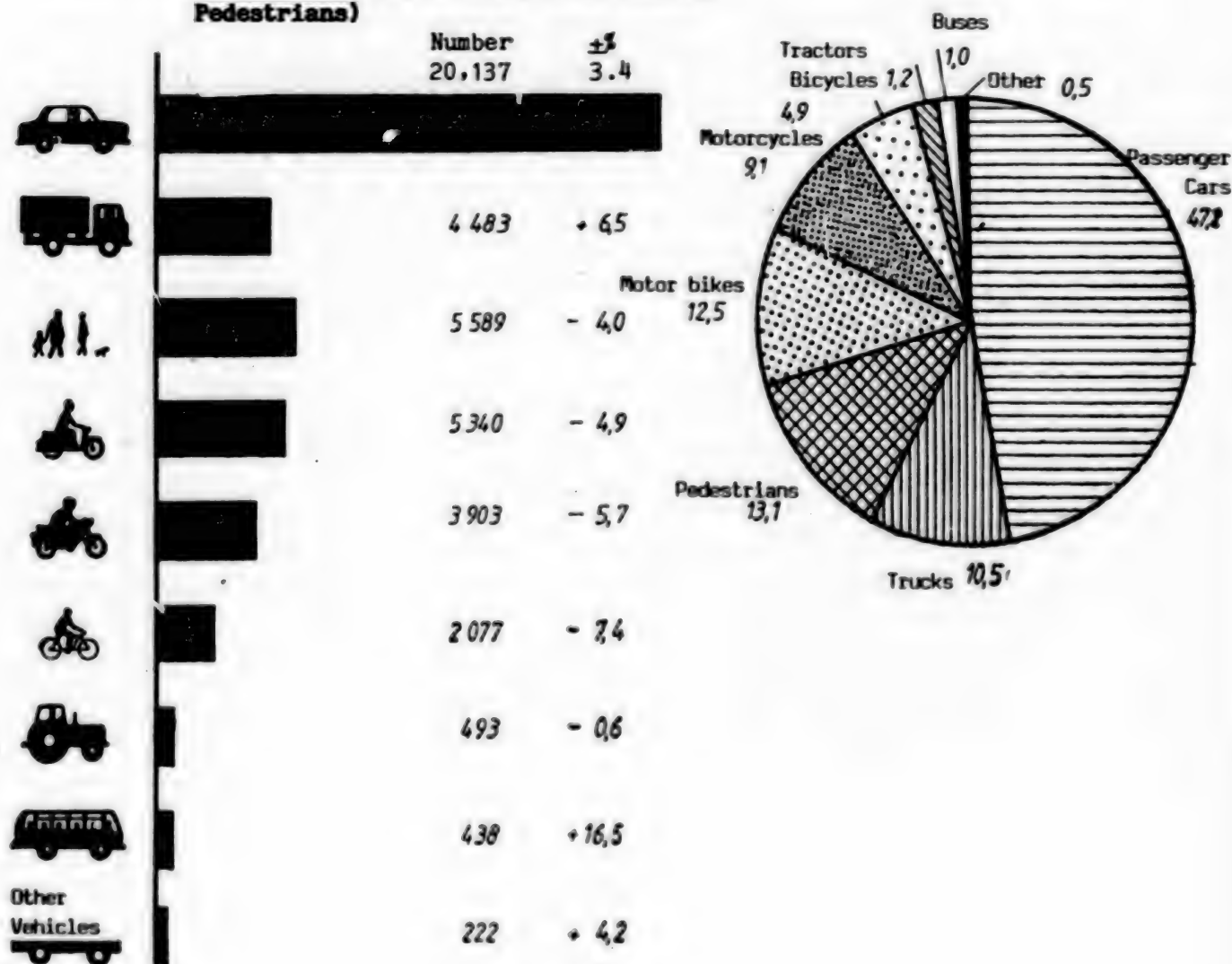


				± %
Breaking speed limit	11876	25,9	-10	
Failure to yield right of way	8548	18,7	-46	
Illegally stepping into traffic or crossing traffic...	5589	12,2	-4,0	
Driving while intoxicated.....	4121	9,0	-6,9	
Improper use of traffic lanes	4127	9,0	+2,1	
Improper passing...	1902	4,2	-24	
Inadequate following distance	1653	3,6	-24	

It is extremely difficult to cite or uncover the causes for decreased incidence of traffic accidents or to compile complete data on the subject. However, we can guess that extensive, continued efforts to influence the behavior of persons involved in traffic has contributed to the development of more responsible attitudes toward increased traffic safety.

Figure 3: Accident Causes According to Types of Individuals (Drivers, Bike Riders, Pedestrians)

1985



Social cooperation in ensuring traffic safety has increased. About 300,000 volunteer citizens are currently active in this area. In addition to these efforts however, local representatives and councils, combine, factory, union, and institution leaders have heightened their awareness of their obligation to increase traffic safety in their areas of responsibility. Based on the GDR traffic safety program, the mutual interaction of all governmental and social areas, together with the participation of workers in plants, residential regions, and schools has made traffic accidents prevention more and more a concern of the entire society. The following facts and statistics also contribute to the conclusion that there is growing social cooperation in increasing traffic safety:

- Currently there are 22,753 traffic safety panels in organizations, cooperatives, and institutions. This is 2,294 more than in 1980. Over 135,000 workers provide volunteer work in these social committees for educating and training people for their role in traffic; they conduct technical vehicle inspections and contribute considerably to the maintenance of high traffic safety in all areas of the domestic economy.
- 753 traffic education centers in the Republic have developed as centers for traffic safety work. It is important to note that the coordinated cooperation of many social forces leads to high quality work. Programs are organized and conducted in the traffic education centers for those involved in traffic, motor vehicles are inspected, and drivers and bike riders receive both theoretical and practical training and participate in continuing education programs. Teachers use the traffic education centers for audio-visual traffic instruction, and working teams of "Youth Traffic Aids" and groups of school guards use the centers.
- 9,259 traffic safety working groups participate on a volunteer basis in traffic safety in their communities and residential areas. They work closely together with committees of the National Front and maintain direct connections with the traffic safety activities of the factories and associations in their areas. 60,000 citizens are engaged in the activities of these working groups.
- In the GDR there are at present 31,182 traffic education circles in which every year millions of citizens voluntarily increase their knowledge and skill. Over 29,000 volunteer teachers contribute part of their free time to this training.
- In the last few years there have been increased conscientious efforts with young people. They are being included more and more in the complex process of traffic accident prevention. Thus at present there are 1,091 Youth Traffic Safety panels in the GDR, which is 697 more than in 1980.
- 46,000 children are active in 4,096 "Young Traffic Aids" teams, dealing outside their classroom time with problems involving traffic safety. Almost 10,000 school crossing guards ensure that younger pupils are safe on the way to school.
- More than 17,000 volunteer aids assist the traffic police with many hours over and above their own daily work, thus providing an important contribution to increased highway traffic safety.

This is an impressive record. However, in the future it will become even more important to do a better job structuring the participation of citizens in ensuring traffic safety in order to achieve even greater results through volunteer activities.

In spite of all the positive benefits from traffic safety work, the absolute number of traffic accidents nonetheless documents the necessity that we cannot let up on our efforts to ensure traffic safety. We must do an even better job of defining our goals for fighting the main causes of traffic accidents, such as exceeding the speed limit and failing to yield the right of way. We must also work toward eliminating local accident concentrations in order to

provide favorable conditions for increased traffic safety behavior on the part of drivers, bike riders, and pedestrians. Hence, although we must take into consideration the possibilities inherent in the domestic economy, we must continue to adopt increased corrective measures, e.g. by eliminating bottlenecks, building bus-stop sidings and bus-stop traffic islands, developing traffic interchanges, and expanding bike paths to form closed networks.

However, undoubtedly those traffic regulations that are directly aimed at increasing traffic safety--such as requiring people to use safety belts--cannot be underestimated for their influence in decreasing the consequences of traffic accidents. On the average, we have been able to achieve far better than 90% participation in efforts to get people to use safety belts. The results of this program are in all probability documented by considerable decreases in accident injuries. At this point it is pleasant to note that rather than repressive actions on the part of the German Peoples' Police, conscious action on the part of drivers has supported adherence to a safety measure for their own protection, because the percentage of people buckling their seatbelts was similar--as has already been documented--even before the law was passed requiring the wearing of safety belts. Regardless of the results in terms of traffic accident prevention, it is nonetheless necessary to continue efforts to strengthen the sense of personal and collective responsibility on the part of everyone involved in traffic so that each person applies the slogans of the traffic safety program attentively, considerately, and with discipline in highway traffic situations. Traffic safety is primarily the result of internal attitude and personal behavior on the part of every driver, bike rider, and pedestrian.

The growing complexity of traffic conditions makes high demands on everyone's knowledge, skill, and performance, and thus of necessity requires high quality education and training. We also need to strengthen general understanding of the dangers of highway traffic and to hone correct, effective reactions in order to prevent such problems. For this reason we must continue training programs for all drivers, bike riders, and pedestrians. Tried and true forms and methods used in the existing education, training, and public awareness programs, particularly volunteer participation in traffic schools, should be further developed. We need to expand the opportunities for all parties to keep their knowledge up to date; in particular, this requires interesting and informative media for passing on this knowledge in ways that are appropriate for each age group and type of individual.

It is necessary for traffic safety education and training to begin with very young children and be continued according to the level of understanding of each age group. In this process we must increase our efforts to take psychological and pedagogical aspects into consideration. Hence for instance, traffic safety research not only must work out and perfect scientifically grounded forms and methods of traffic education and training, but must also produce teaching, learning, and audio-visual materials structured in a modular system for all target groups involved.

The quality and intensity of driver training has an essential influence on proper traffic behavior on the part of motor vehicle drivers. Restructuring their training and testing guidelines based on scientific knowledge has achieved progress in this area over the last few years. However, it is necessary to address further considerations with regard to improving the quality of driver training.

If we are going to ensure and increase order, safety, and traffic flow, the GDR traffic safety program must be implemented with great initiative in all governmental and social areas, with the broadest possible involvement of all our citizens. However, we can be assured that in spite of the high demands and the increasingly complicated conditions we face, we are capable of solving these problems through the power inherent in our society.

13127

CSO: 2300/296

FRG FINANCIAL PAPER INTERVIEWS ENVIRONMENT MINISTER REICHELT

LD251925 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1536 GMT 25 May 87

[Text] Berlin, 25 May (ADN)—The protection of nature in the interest of the well-being of the citizens is fixed as a duty in the GDR Constitution. This humanistic responsibility is made the task of the state organs and all enterprises, the concern of every citizen, Dr Hans Reichelt, GDR minister for environmental protection and water management, emphasized in an interview with HANDELSBLATT, the FRG Financial Paper. Citing numerous activities the minister shows that the GDR, by using considerable resources, has been realizing for years extensive measures to improve environmental conditions aimed at reducing harmful emissions. This applied, to a certain degree, to keeping the air clean. According to the Land Improvement Law and the relevant complementary regulations, upper limits for the emission of sulfur dioxide, nitric oxides and other harmful substances have been laid down for nearly 15 years for enterprises and institutions, and rigorous controls have been carried out about them.

The rational use of energy sources, the lowering of energy inputs and the greater processing of indigenous lignite which, in the foreseeable future, is the decisive primary energy source of the GDR, are taking priority among the numerous projects for keeping the air clean. Through a number of scientific-technical and technological measures, especially in the transfer and conversion of energy, space heating and in transportation, energy of a lignite equivalent of 80 million tonnes less will be used than would have been required according to the technological level of 1985. This will reduce at the same time the emission of SO₂ [sulfur dioxide]. Cuts in primary energy for high-energy purposes led already during the period 1981 to 1985 to a reduction in sulfur dioxide emission of about 1 million tonnes.

Minister Reichelt spoke in this connection about ways adopted in the GDR concerning the desulfurisation of smoke while burning lignite in heating plants and power stations. To this end an extensive research and development program with a number of pilot and test plants of various kinds is being implemented. The limestone-additive process, developed and tested in the GDR, according to which SO₂ is being fixed by other means is being improved. Heating plants and power stations will be equipped to a large extent according to this process, thus in Karl-Marx-Stadt and Leipzig. In addition the fluidization furnaces for team generators which can achieve a sulfur dioxide reduction of [word indistinct] percent, and other effective processes are being tested. A

new wet process plant is being built in the Rummelsburg power station, which meets the most modern international standards. Here liquid sulfur dioxide and other substances are reclaimed.

Minister Reichelt also spoke about the noticeable results in lessening emissions of nitric oxides which, in the view of many international experts, are viewed as one of the main causes for the recent damage to forests. The emission of such nitric oxides in the GDR, compared with West European states, is considerably lower and amounted to less than 30 percent compared with the FRG.

Among the numerous measures adopted by the GDR Government is transferring goods transport from the road to rail, the electrification of railway lines and the extension of inland water way transports, speed limits on motorways and roads and numerous traffic measures. All this means that, apart from the significant high-energy effects in the GDR, the emission of nitric oxides has fallen in the past 5 years alone by 15 percent in the transport sector.

The GDR is thus among the few states which can show a reduction of the emission of such harmful airborne substances.

In his interview with HANDELSBLATT Minister Reichelt also dealt with issues of the relations between the GDR and FRG in environmental protection. He said it is an important contribution towards political dialogue and the further development of cooperation for mutual benefit. The considerable expenditure by the GDR Government for improved environmental conditions also has, in many cases, positive effects on FRG territory and are in the interest of good-neighborly relations. Thus since the beginning of the eighties the GDR has realized about 300 measures worth over M155 million which are having a positive effect on the quality of water of cross-border rivers. A great number of expensive investments exist for keeping the River Elbe and its tributaries clean. This applies for example to the building of the great industrial water treatment plants in the Buna Works, in Espenhain, Boehlen, Merseburg and many local biological water treatment plants such as Halle, Leipzig, Dresden, Karl-Marx-Stadt and elsewhere. Hans Reichelt also referred to the lowering by half of the sulfur dioxide emission since the early eighties in the Harbke power station near the state frontier with the FRG, and the Blankenstein pulp and papermill.

When asked about improvements of the Werra water, the minister recalled that the salt contents of the river is caused not only by GDR enterprises. Thus through underground pressures on FRG territory salty waste waters reach GDR territory, and to some extent also the Werra. The GDR is keen to find a fair settlement in the negotiations which have conducted for some time already which will be of benefit to both sides.

Referring to the state of negotiations about a government agreement on the further shaping of relations between the GDR and FRG in the area of environmental protection, Minister Reichelt emphasized that these have made considerable progress. The GDR has submitted constructive proposals, and the document is virtually ready for signature. It provides, among other things, for a

comprehensive exchange of information and experiences on such important matters as technologies and measures for the reduction and measuring of airborne harmful substances and the lessening of the damage of forests. Other topics are the rational use and protection of water, the prevention, processing and harmless removal of waste, as well as experiences and measures for environmental protection.

The concluding of this agreement, Minister Reichelt underlined, would be an important step for the further fleshing out of the Basic Treaty and for the development of cooperation in the environmental protection area according to the Final Act of Helsinki and the principles of peaceful coexistence.

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CSO: 2300/311

AGRICULTURAL AVIATION OPERATIONS, SUPPORT FACILITIES DETAILED

AU011913 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 May 87 p 7

[Speech by Hartmut Giermann, pilot in Section One of the Agroflug Anklam branch of the Interflug company, given at the 13th GDR Peasants' Congress in Schwerin on 22 May 87]

[Excerpts] I am 28 years old and since 1983 I have been a pilot in the Agrarflug enterprise of the Interflug company. I work in the Otto Lilienthal Neubrandenburg Bezirk squadron and to date I have treated some 45,000 hectares with chemicals from the air in the course of some 1,200 flying hours.

An agricultural aircraft such as the one I pilot has the capability to spread fertilizer over an average of 400 hectares daily, and plant protection agents on as many as 600 hectares.

I can report here today that, up to the present, 2.4 million hectares have been treated using chemical measures from airplanes. Thus, we have fulfilled our competition pledge in honor of the 13th GDR Peasants' Congress.

In implementing these tasks, we have been successfully supported by agricultural aircraft from the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic over many years. In this context, the friendship with the peoples of these countries, which is also deepening, is very valuable and fruitful. Without this assistance—and this year it will involve agricultural aviation services over a total of 800,000 hectares—it would be impossible to accomplish the envisaged overall task of agricultural aviation in the GDR.

On the basis of my own practical experiences, I would also like to mention that the demand for agricultural aviation services during the spring campaign is still not being met. Therefore, a further development of agricultural aviation services is necessary in line with the requirements to further intensify plant protection and to ensure the measures to protect forests. We know well, and this is our standpoint, that we must constantly seek reserves to better utilize the available agricultural aircraft.

This task has been helped by multifaceted measures such as:

--the further development of the system of working airfields and the partial building of hard-surface take off and landing strips. In the past 2 years 44 such installations have been created in Neubrandenburg Bezirk alone;

--the use of the agricultural radio service helps to tap further reserves;

--the use of pocket computers which can be programmed in combination with office computers at agricultural chemical centers makes it possible to calculate the most effective flying and loading variants for individual flights;

--the application of new technologies in the spreading of limestone and liquid fertilizer to revitalize tree stands has proved its value;

--and, to give one last example, I would like to mention the employment of Mi-2 helicopters in the grassland of the highlands. Average productivity of 50 hectares per flying hour and, if 100 kg of agent are applied, of as much as 90 hectares is achieved with a new type of application device.

The increasing utilization of the possibilities of long-distance reconnaissance using Interflug aircraft to obtain information about the development of tree stands or for taking stock of damage to forests would also constitute a step toward tapping new reserves.

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BRIEFS

AID FOR AFGHANISTAN—Since the beginning of this year, the Afghan party and government have undertaken new efforts to normalize life in the country. The gist of this policy of national reconciliation is the effort to put an end to armed conflicts. The GDR welcomes the course of national reconciliation and also endorses a rapid political solution to the situation that has emerged around Afghanistan. The GDR is rendering comprehensive solidary aid to the Afghan people. Solidarity donations have totaled more than M75 million to date. The GDR solidarity committee finances the admission and treatment of wounded in the hospitals of our republic. Since 1986 a friendship brigade has been working at Kabul Polytechnical School and helps in developing vocational training. [By Dietmar Henker] [Excerpts] [East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 22 May 87 p 2] /8309

COOPERATION ACCORD WITH INDIA—Heinz Rentner, GDR deputy minister of transport, and P.P. Nayyar, state secretary in the Ministry of Transport of the Republic of India, have signed a protocol on cooperation in the sphere of mercantile shipping. The protocol provides for measures to accelerate the clearance of ships in ports, for their availability according to schedule for the transportation of foreign trade goods, and the step-by-step introduction of container transportation this year. This should help to further improve the transport quality, and cooperation in third markets and in international shipping organizations should be expanded. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 May 87 p 2 AU] /8309

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION WITH NICARAGUA—On Saturday, 23 May an agreement on scientific-technological cooperation in the sphere of agriculture and a work plan for the period up to 1988 were signed between the GDR Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Foodstuffs and the Ministry of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Reform of the Republic of Nicaragua. The documents provide for cooperation in the field of seed potato production, the control of livestock epidemics, and the poultry industry. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 May 87 p 2 AU] /8309

WEIMAR, TRIER SISTER CITIES—A town twinning agreement between Weimar and Trier was initialed on Sunday, 24 May by the mayors of the two towns. As was stated in a joint declaration, both towns want to make a contribution within this framework to safeguarding peace and to developing good-neighborly relations between the two German states. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 May 87 p 2 AU] /8309

BRIEFS

TOURISM TO ROMANIA--Bratislava (MK)--Last year more than 100,000 CSSR citizens visited Romania. After a certain drop and stagnation in CSSR visitors to the country (particularly because of worsened services and difficulties for automobile drivers), interest in trips to Romania is increasing this year. Currently protocols are being signed by representatives of CSSR travel agencies and the Romanian Karpaty Agency. A preferential network of selected gas stations will be set apart for the motorists, and gasoline prices will remain the same as in 1986. The Romanians have offered the CSSR agencies the opportunity to sell gas vouchers for Kcs currency in the CSSR (but no agreement has been signed as yet), and the project for a bridge over the Danube on the Vidina-Kalafata crossing between Bulgaria and Romania is intended to shorten the waiting time for a ferry. [Summary] [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 12 May 87 p 7 AU] /9599

INFANT MORTALITY--Addressing a press conference on mother and child care in Bratislava on 13 May, Eva Tokolyova, minister of health of the Slovak SR, said that "in spite of the successes achieved in this regard, we are behind in some indicators. In particular, the decline in the infant mortality rate is slow--the rate per thousand in Slovakia is 2 to 3 points higher than in the Czech SR and twice as high as in top-ranking countries." According to Tokolyova, this is due to the large number of premature births, the high mortality rate of newborn babies, and to women working in environments that are detrimental to their health. The new law on extending maternity leave by 2 weeks in the last 3 months of pregnancy is expected to bring an improvement. [Summary] [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 14 May 87 p 5 AU] /9599

LETHAL WORK ACCIDENTS--According to the Slovak Labor Safety Office, work accidents claimed 235 lives in Slovakia in 1986, 23 more than in 1985. The most frequent causes included underestimation of risk, incorrect work procedures, intoxication, faulty equipment, and negligence. More than 100 victims were under 40 years of age. [Summary] [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 14 May 87 p 7 AU] /9599

CHEMICALS IN FOOD--A statewide conference which opened at Stara Lesna in the High Tatra on 13 May is dealing with the possibilities of curbing and eliminating alien substances, notably chemicals, from food. It is also being attended by experts from Hungary and Austria. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 May 87 p 2 AU] /9599

CONFERENCE ON ROBOT TECHNOLOGY--The assessment of the present state of robot technology in Czechoslovakia and of the basic trends of its further development is the aim of a statewide conference that opened at Strbske Pleso in the High Tatra on 13 May. The conference, which will last until 15 May, is being attended by specialists from research institutes, higher educational establishments, and production enterprises. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 May 87 p 2 AU] /9599

POLLUTION DAMAGES FORESTS--Bratislava (CTK)--At its 19 May session the Slovak National Council's Health and Social Affairs Committee discussed the report on the state of the forest economy presented by Julius Ciganek, Slovak deputy minister of forestry and water management. He pointed out, inter alia, that currently 16 percent of all forest growth has been affected by industrial pollution. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 May 87 p 2 AU] /9599

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